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JE MEURS POUR CEUX QUE J'AIME

George Paterson of
Castle Huntly Esq.r

XK 59.1 [M

MEMOIRS
Of what paſt in
# CHRISTENDOM,
FROM THE
WAR begun 1672,
TO THE
PEACE concluded 1679.

By Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE
Baronet.

LONDON,
Printed for SAM. BUCKLEY
At the *Dolphin* in *Little-Britain*, 1709.

☞ An Advertiſement, prefix'd to the Firſt Edition of theſe Memoirs in 1691.

THE PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

READER,

THESE following Papers I obtain'd from a Perſon to whom I muſt never reſtore them again; and the Author has not, that I know of, enquir'd after them ſince I had them. I muſt needs confeſs, 'Tis but too plain by the Epiſtle that he intended they ſhould not be publick during his Life; but though I have as great Reſpect for him as any Man, yet I could not be of his Mind in this: I think I ſhould do the World wrong to conceal any longer a Treatiſe of ſo much Profit and Pleaſure to all that read it; and I hope I ſhall not be thought to do the Author any in publiſhing it, ſince the Charge *of not doing it was not given to me. I think likewiſe, that if any of his Friends can obtain of him the* First *and* Third Parts *of theſe* Memoirs *that are mentioned in them, they will do the Publick a great Piece of Service; and if they ſhould come from the Author's laſt hand, they may chance to be more correct than theſe, which look as tho' they had never been review'd by the Author, but juſt as they fell from his Pen. However, I do not remember to have met with a Treatiſe in any Language that I underſtand, which, in my poor Judgment, is written with more Candor and Truth, and thorow Inſight into the Matters it relates; ſtuft with greater Variety of Subject, digeſted into better Order and Method, and expreſt with more Clearneſs and Spirit, than this is. I have not therefore, as I think there is no need, chang'd a Word in it; but only where things are ſaid in* French *or* Latin, *I have thought fit to tranſlate them; and if I have not done it ſo well as I ſhould do, I crave the Reader's Pardon, and in all elſe do not doubt of his Thanks. I ſhall ſay nothing of the Author, who will be known by the firſt Pages of the Book, nor of the Time or Motive of its writing, which are ſeen by the Epiſtle; but only heartily pray God to give him Good Health and a long Life, that he may continue, as he has ever been, the Ornament to Learning and to his Country.*

To My SON.

April, 1683.

I Do not remember ever to have refus'd any thing you have deſir'd of me; which I take to be a greater Compliment to you than to my ſelf; ſince for a Young Man to make none but reaſonable Deſires, is yet more extraordinary than for an Old Man to think them ſo. That which you made me ſome time ſince, and have ſo often renew'd, I have at laſt reſolv'd to comply with, as well as the reſt; and if I live, will leave you ſome *Memoirs* of what has paſs'd in my publick Imployments, eſpecially thoſe abroad, which reach'd from the Year 1665, to 1678. and run through the moſt important foreign Negotiations of the Crown, with great Connexion of Affairs at home during this Period, and the Revolutions it produc'd. The Confidence of the King my Maſter, and of his chief Miniſters, as well as that of others abroad, gave me the Advantage to diſcern and obſerve the true Springs and Motions of both; which were often miſtaken in Court and Parliament, and thereby faſten'd many Suſpicions, Confidences, Applauſes, Reproaches, upon Perſons, and at Times, where they were very undeſerv'd. Twenty Years of my Life I paſs'd in publick Thoughts and Buſineſs, from the Thirty Second to the Fifty Second Year of my Age; which I take to be the Part of a Man's Life fitteſt to be dedicated to the Service of his Prince or State, the reſt being uſually too much taken up with his Pleaſures or his Eaſe. The Native Love of my Country, and its Antient Legal Conſtitutions, would not ſuffer me to enter into any publick Affairs, 'till the Way was open for the King's happy Reſtauration in 1660. And in 1680 you know I ſent you to acquaint the King with my Reſolutions to paſs the Remainder of my Life like as good a private Subject as any he had, but never more to meddle with any publick Imployment. All the reſt of my Age before, and ſince that Period, I have taken no more Notice of what paſs'd upon the publick Scene, than an Old Man uſes to do of what is acted on a Theatre; where he gets as eaſy a Seat as he can, entertains himſelf with what paſſes upon the Stage, not caring who the Actors are, or what the Plot, nor whether he goes out before the Play be done. Therefore you muſt expect nothing from me out of the Compaſs of that Time, nor any thing of *that* itſelf with much Application or Care, further than of Truth. You know how lazy I am in my Temper, how uneaſy in my Health, how weak my Eyes, and how much of my Time paſſes in walking or riding, and thereby fencing all I can againſt Two cruel Diſeaſes that have for ſome Time purſu'd me; ſo that I doubt the Satisfaction you expect will be chiefly owing to ill Health or ill Weather, which yet are not like to fail at my Age and in our Climate. For the reſt, if you find any thing either inſtructing or diverting in what I ſhall write upon this Subject, you may attribute it wholly to the Kindneſs and Eſteem I have for you, without which I ſhould not have given my ſelf the Trouble of ſuch Recollections: And as I intend them for your Uſe, ſo I deſire no other may be made of them during my Life; when that is ended, neither they nor you will be any more in my Care, and whatever I leave of this or any other kind, will be in your diſpoſal. I am the gladder, and it is but juſt, that my publick Imployments ſhould contribute ſomething to your Entertainment, ſince they have done ſo little to your Fortune, upon which I can make you no Excuſes: 'Twas a thing ſo often in my Power, that it was never in my Thoughts; which were turn'd always upon how much leſs I needed, rather than how much more.

If yours have the ſame Turn, you will be but too rich; if the contrary, you will be ever poor.

MEMOIRS
Of what paſt in
CHRISTENDOM
From 1672, to 1679.

CHAP. I.

HAVING ended the Firſt Part of theſe Memoirs with my Retirement from all publick Buſineſs in the Year 1671, which was ſoon follow'd by the Second *Dutch* War; I ſhall begin this with the Approaches of the Peace in the Year 1673.

ABOUT this Time, after Two Summers ſpent in a War between *England* and *Holland*, with ſeveral Encounters at Sea, but no deciſive Action, both Parties began to enter upon Thoughts, and indeed Neceſſities of a Peace. The Nations had been at War without being angry; and the Quarrel had been thought on both Sides rather of the Miniſtries than the People. The *Dutch* believ'd it at firſt intended only againſt DE WIT's Faction, in favour of the Prince of ORANGE; and in *England* ſome laid it to the Corruption of Miniſters by the Money of *France*, and ſome that pretended to think deeper laid it to deeper Deſigns. The Lord CLIFFORD's Violence in beginning it, gave it an ill Air in general; and the diſuſe of Parliaments, a cruel Maim in the chief Sinews of War.

THE Subſidies from *France* bore no Proportion to the Charge of our Fleets, and our Strength at Sea ſeem'd rather leſſen'd than increas'd by the Conjunction of theirs: Our Seamen fought without heart, and were more afraid of their Friends than their Enemies; and our Diſcontents were ſo great at Land, that the aſſembling of our Militia to defend our Coaſts, was thought as dangerous as an Invaſion. But that which moſt preſs'd His Majeſty to the Thoughts of a Peace, was the Reſolution of *Spain* to declare War againſt *England*, as they had done already againſt *France*, in favour of *Holland*, unleſs the Peace were ſuddenly made; which would have been ſuch a Blow to our Trade as could not eaſily have been fenc'd, and loſt us that of the *Mediterranean*, as the *Dutch* War had done that of the *Northern* Seas: So as the Neceſſity of this Conjuncture, was only kept off by the Honour of our Alliance with

France. However, that Crown being not able to furniſh Supplies enough to carry on the War without a Parliament, could not oppoſe the calling one upon this Occaſion. When the Parliament met, tho' they ſeem'd willing to give the King Money, yet it was to make the Peace with *Holland*, and not to carry on the War; and upon his Majeſty's demanding their Advice, they gave it unanimouſly, That the Peace ſhould be made.

THERE were too many Parties engaged in this Quarrel to think of a General Peace, tho' a Treaty to that Purpoſe had been ſet on foot at *Cologne*, under the Mediation of the *Swedes*, between the Miniſters of the Emperor, *Spain*, *Holland*, and ſome Princes of the Empire on the one Part, and His Majeſty and *France* on the other, but without any the leaſt Appearance of Succeſs; for tho' all the Confederates had a Mind to the Peace between *England* and *Holland*, yet none of them deſir'd it with *France*. This made both the *Dutch* and the *Spaniards* ſet on foot all the Engines they could, to engage His Majeſty in ſome Treaty of a ſeparate Peace; to which the Neceſſity of his Affairs, the Humour of his People, and the Inſtances of his Parliament, at laſt determin'd him, towards the End of the Year 1673.

UPON the firſt Meeting of the Parliament, the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, to ingratiate himſelf with the Houſe of Commons;

(whoſe ill Humour began to appear againſt thoſe they eſteem'd the chief Authors of the War) had deſir'd Leave of that Houſe that he might be heard there in his own Defence upon that Subject. In his Speech, among many Endeavours to throw the Odium of the War from himſelf upon the Lord ARLINGTON, he deſir'd that Lord might be ask'd who was the Author of the Tripple Alliance? as if he underſtood himſelf to be ſo. The Lord ARLINGTON coming afterwards upon the like Deſire into the ſame Houſe of Commons, and anſwering ſome Parts of the Duke's Speech; when he came to that Particular, he told them he could eaſily anſwer that Queſtion of the Duke's, by telling them that the Author of that Alliance was Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE. This, I ſuppoſe, gave the Occaſion for Reflections upon what had paſs'd in the Courſe of my former Ambaſſies in *Holland* and at *Aix*; and his Majeſty, and his Miniſters, the Reſolution to ſend for me out of my private Retreat, where I had paſs'd Two Years, (as I intended to do the reſt of my Life,) and to engage me in going over into *Holland*, to make the ſeparate Peace with that State.

UPON the 2d of *February* $167\frac{3}{4}$, his Majeſty receiv'd the certain Advice of the States having paſs'd a Reſolution, That the Charges and Dignities poſſeſs'd by the Prince of ORANGE, and his Anceſtors, ſhould become hereditary to his Children: And at the ſame Time he alſo receiv'd a Letter from the States, with the Deſire of Paſsports for the Ambaſſadors, whom they reſolv'd to ſend to his Majeſty with Inſtructions and Powers to treat and conclude a Peace; and in the mean Time they offer'd a Suſpenſion of Arms. This Offer coming upon the Neck of the Parliament's Advice to His Majeſty to enter into Treaty with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador upon the Propoſitions he had advanc'd, and which the King had order'd to be ſent to the Parliament, it was not believ'd by the Miniſters that a Treaty could be refus'd, without drawing too much Odium upon themſelves and Reflection upon the Government: On the other Side, it was ſuſpected what Practices might be ſet on foot by *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, upon the general Diſcontent reigning againſt the preſent War. Therefore that very Afternoon, a Reſolution was taken at the private Junto, to ſend rather than to receive an Ambaſſy upon this Subject; and that I ſhould be the Perſon imploy'd. Two Gentlemen were ſent to my Houſe within half an Hour of one another, from the Earl of DANBY then Lord Treaſurer, and the Earl of ARLINGTON firſt Secretary of State, to order my Attendance upon His Majeſty. My Lord ARLINGTON told me he would not pretend the Merit of having nam'd me upon this Occaſion, nor could he well tell whether the King or the Lord Treaſurer did it firſt; but that the whole Committee had join'd in it; and concluded, That ſince the Peace was to be made, there was no other Perſon to be thought of for it: And accordingly the King gave me his Commands, with many Expreſſions of Kindneſs and Confidence, to prepare for my Journey; and the Secretary to draw up my Inſtructions. I told the King I would obey him, and with a great deal of Pleaſure to ſee His Majeſty returning to the Meaſures upon which I had formerly ſerv'd him; but that I might do it the better, I begg'd of him that I might go over without the Character of Ambaſſador, which would delay or embarraſs me with Preparations of Equipage, and with Ceremonies there, that were unneceſſary to ſo ſudden a Diſpatch. His Majeſty thought what I ſaid very pertinent, and ſo order'd that I ſhould go only as Plenipotentiary; but that I ſhould have in all Kinds the Appointment of Ambaſſador, and that I ſhould take upon me the Character too when the Peace was concluded.

WITHIN Three Days I was ready; and the Morning my Diſpatches were ſo too, the Marqueſs of FREZNO, *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, ſent my Lord ARLINGTON Word, (while I was with him) that he had receiv'd full Powers from the States to treat and conclude a Peace, and was ready to enter upon it whenever his Majeſty pleas'd. My Lord ARLINGTON ſurpris'd, was at firſt of Opinion the King ſhould go on in his own Way, and I my Journey, and give the *Spaniards* no Part in the Affair: I was of another Mind, and that beſides the Point of Honour, which was clear in having the Peace made rather at *London* than the *Hague*, I thought that of Intereſt might be the better purſu'd when we were ſought to by the States, than when we ſought to them: Beſides, I believ'd the *Spaniard* would play us fair in a Game that he thought ſo much his own, and not ſuffer the *Dutch* to ſtop at any ſmall Points, eſpecially thoſe of Honour; whereas that of the Flag (tho' ſuch) was one His Majeſty ought to lay moſt to heart. My Lord ARLINGTON, after ſome Debate, agreed with me, and deſir'd me to go immediately and acquaint the King with this new and unexpected Incident, who was then at the Houſe of Lords. The King ſeem'd pleas'd with the Change, and told me, That ſince I did not treat it at the *Hague*, I ſhould however at *London*; and bid me go and acquaint the Marqueſs of FREZNO with his Reſolution, That if he and I could agree upon the Terms, the Thing ſhould ſoon be done.

THE Terms to be inſiſted on were ſoon agreed by His Majeſty at the Foreign Committee, which was compos'd of the Lord Chancellor FINCH, the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord ARLINGTON and Mr. HENRY COVENTRY Secretaries of State, with whom His Majeſty order'd my Attendance upon this Affair. When I was inſtructed of His Majeſty's Pleaſure, I went to the Marqueſs of FREZNO, and at Three Meetings I concluded the whole Treaty, with Satisfaction to His Majeſty, and Tranſport to the Marqueſs, upon ſo great an Honour as he thought it to himſelf, and the Fortunes he expected upon it from his Maſter. The Articles being publick, need no Place here. The Two Points of greateſt Difficulty were that of the Flag, and the recalling all *Engliſh* Troops out of the *French* Service. This laſt was compos'd by private Engagements to ſuffer thoſe that were there to wear out without any Recruits, and to permit no new ones to go over; but at the ſame Time to give Leave for ſuch Levies as the States ſhould think fit to make in his Majeſty's Dominions, both of *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Regiments. The other of the Flag, was carried to all the Height His Majeſty could wiſh; and thereby a Claim of the Crown, the Acknowledgment of its Dominion in the narrow Seas, allow'd by Treaty from the moſt Powerful of our Neighbours at Sea, which had never yet been yielded to by the Weakeſt of them, that I remember, in the whole Courſe of our Pretence; and had ſerv'd hitherto but for an Occaſion of Quarrel, whenever We or They had a Mind to it, upon other Reaſons or Conjectures. Nothing, I confeſs, had ever given me a greater Pleaſure, in the greateſt publick Affairs I had run thro', than this Succeſs; as having been a Point I ever had at Heart, and in my Endeavours, to gain upon my firſt Negotiations in *Holland*; but found Monſieur DE WIT ever inflexible, though he agreed with me that it would be a Rock upon which our firmeſt Alliances would be in danger to ſtrike and to ſplit, whenever other Circumſtances fell in to make either of the Parties content to alter the Meaſures we had entred into upon the Triple Alliance. The Sum of Money given His Majeſty by the States, though it was not conſiderable in it ſelf, and leſs to the King, by the greateſt Part of it being applied to the Prince of ORANGE's Satisfaction for his Mother's Portion that had never been paid; yet it gave the King the whole Honour of the Peace, as the Sum given by the Parliament upon it and the general Satisfaction of his People made the Eaſe of it. And thus happily ended our Part of a War ſo fatal to the reſt of *Chriſtendom* in the Conſequences of it, which no Man perhaps now alive will ſee the End of; and had been begun and carried on as far as it would go, under the Miniſtry of Five Men who were uſually call'd *The Cabal*, a Word unluckily falling out of the Five firſt Letters of their Names, that is, CLIFFORD, ARLINGTON, BUCKINGHAM, ASHLEY, and LAUDERDALE. But though the Counſels and Conduct of theſe Men had begun the War with Two unuſual Strains to the Honour of the Crown, in the Attack of the *Smyrna* Fleet, and ſtopping the Bank; yet it muſt be allow'd them to have ſucceeded well in the Honours they propos'd to themſelves; CLIFFORD having gain'd by it the Place of High Treaſurer, and Title of a Baron; ASHLEY the Chancellor's Place, and an Earldom; ARLINGTON an Earldom, with the Garter; and LAUDERDALE a Dukedom, with the Garter. The Duke of BUCKINGHAM being already poſſeſt of all the Honours the Crown could give of that kind, contented himſelf to make no better a Bargain in this Matter than he uſed to do in all others that concern'd him; and ſo pretended no further than Commands in the Army. And thus, inſtead of making ſo great a King as they pretended by this *Dutch* War and *French* Alliance, they had the Honour of making only Four great Subjects.

AFTER the Peace was made, His Majeſty's firſt Care was to ſoften the Stroke as much as he could towards *France*; which was done by repreſenting the Neceſſities of it, (that needed no falſe Colours) and at the ſame Time to offer his Mediation between the Parties remaining ſtill in the War, in caſe *France* either deſir'd or accepted it; which took up ſome Time to determine. In the mean while I continu'd in the Poſture and Thoughts of the private Man I was before this Revolution, 'till about a Week after the whole Concluſion of it, when my Lord ARLINGTON told me how kindly the King took of me both the Readineſs I had expreſs'd to go over into *Holland*, and the Eaſineſs I ſhewed upon the failing of that Commiſſion, as well as the Pains and Succeſs in the Treaty with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador; and not knowing any thing better he had to give me, he was reſolv'd to ſend me Ambaſſador Extraordinary into *Spain*; and to that Purpoſe immediately to recall Sir WILLIAM GODOLPHIN, the Ordinary Ambaſſador there, for many Reaſons that, he ſaid, made it neceſſary in this Conjuncture.

I acknowledg'd the Honour His Majeſty intended me, but deſir'd Time to give my Anſwer 'till I had conſulted my Father upon it, who was then in *Ireland*, but in the Intention of coming ſuddenly over; however, in a Month I undertook to reſolve. My Lord ARLINGTON told me he did not expect any Demurr upon ſuch an Offer, which he took to be of the beſt Employment the King had to give, and therefore he had already acquainted the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador with it, who receiv'd it with great Joy, and reſolv'd immediately to give Part of it to the

Court of *Madrid*; which he was ſure was already done, and therefore he would reckon upon it as a thing concluded; though for the good Grace of it to my Father, he undertook the King would give me the Time I ask'd to reſolve. When I writ to my Father upon this Subject, he was ſo violent againſt my charging my ſelf with this Ambaſſy, that I could not find any Temper to ſatisfy him, and upon it was forc'd to make my Excuſes to the King. When I did ſo, his Majeſty was pleas'd to aſſure me he did not at all take it ill of me, and that, on the contrary, he intended me a better Employment: That he was at preſent engag'd for the Secretary's Place, upon my Lord ARLINGTON's Removal to Chamberlain; but that he reſolved the next Removal ſhou'd be to make Room for me. This I told my Lord ARLINGTON, who preſently ſaid, That he believ'd I could not refuſe the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſy, but upon Deſign of the Secretary's Place; and ſince I deſir'd it, and the King fell into it of himſelf, he would play the eaſieſt Part in it that he could. He was indeed agreed with Sir JOSEPH WILLIAMSON for 6000 *l.* and the King had conſented that he ſhould enter upon it at his Return from *Cologne*, which was every Day expected; but yet he made ſuch a Difference between the Perſons, that he would find ſome Way to avoid it in caſe I would lay down the

6000 *l.* I aſſur'd his Lordſhip I had no ſuch Deſign, nor ſuch a Sum of Money to lay down while my Father enjoy'd the Eſtate of the Family: That if I had, I ſhou'd be very unwilling to purſue it ſo far as to give his Lordſhip any Strain in a Matter already promis'd and concluded; and therefore deſir'd him to think no further of it. But he was not of Opinion I could ſtick at any thing but the Money, and acquainted Mr. MONTAGUE and Mr. SIDNEY, who were Friends to us both, with this Tranſaction, and ſet them upon me to bring it to an Iſſue, before the other came over: They both endeavour'd it with great Inſtances, and Mr. MONTAGUE was ſo kind as to offer to lend me the Money, but I was poſitive in refuſing it; yet at the ſame Time I told my Lord ARLINGTON, That, not to ſeem humourous in declining the Offers he had made me from the King or from himſelf, I was content they ſhou'd both know, that if His Majeſty had Occaſion to ſend an Ambaſſy into *Holland* upon the Peace, I would very willingly ſerve him there, where I knew the Scene ſo well. So that Matter ſlept for the preſent.

IN the mean while, *France* had thought fit to accept and approve the King's Offer of Mediation, that of *Sweden* being ended by the Aſſembly at *Cologne* breaking up in Expoſtulations and Quarrels upon the Emperor's ſeizing the Perſon of Prince WILLIAM of FURSTEMBURG, a Subject of the Empire, but an Inſtrument of *France*, as his Brother the Biſhop of STRASBURG had been in all the late Deſigns and Invaſions of that Crown upon their Neighbours. The King told me, That being reſolv'd to offer his Mediation to all the Confederates, as he had done already to *France*, and finding I had no Mind to engage in either of thoſe Imployments which had of late been offer'd me, he was reſolv'd to ſend me Ambaſſador Extraordinary into *Holland*, to offer his Mediation there, as the Scene of the Confederates Common Counſels, and by their Means to endeavour the Acceptance of it by the reſt of the Princes concern'd in the War: That I knew the Place and Perſons better than any Man, and could do him more Service, both in this and continuing all good Correſpondence between him and the States, which he was reſolv'd to preſerve: That I ſhould have the Character of Ambaſſador Extraordinary, and the ſame Allowance I ſhou'd have had in *Spain*. Upon this Offer I made no Demurr, but immediately accepted it, and ſo my Ambaſſy was declar'd in *May* 1674.

BUT to make Way for my entring upon this great Scene, it will be neceſſary to deduce in ſhort the Courſe of Affairs abroad, from the firſt Period of the preſent War, to this

Second of His Majeſty's ſeparate Peace with *Holland*, and the ſeveral Diſpoſitions among the Parties that were likely to facilitate or to croſs the Deſign of the King's intended Mediation.

NO Clap of Thunder in a fair froſty Day, cou'd more aſtoniſh the World, than our Declaration of War againſt *Holland* in 1672. firſt by matter of Fact, in falling upon their *Smyrna* Fleet; and in Conſequence of that (however it fail'd) by a formal Declaration, in which we gave Reaſons for our Quarrel, while *France* contented themſelves to give no other for their Part of it than only the Glory of that King. The *Dutch* cou'd never be poſſeſt with a Belief that we were in Earneſt, 'till the Blow was given; but thought our Unkindneſs and Expoſtulations of late, wou'd end at laſt either in Demands of Money, or the Prince of ORANGE's Reſtitution to the Authority of his Anceſtors. The Princes concern'd in their Safety cou'd not believe, that after having ſav'd *Flanders* out of the Hands of *France*, we wou'd ſuffer *Holland* to fall into the ſame Danger; and my Lord ARLINGTON told me at that Time, that the Court of *France* did not believe it themſelves, till the Blow was ſtruck in the Attack of the *Smyrna* Fleet; but then they immediately ſet out their Declaration, and began their Invaſion: This Surpriſe made Way for their prodigious Succeſſes.

The *Dutch* had made no Proviſion for their Defence either at home or abroad; and the Empire, *Spain*, and *Sweden*, ſtood at a gaze upon the Opening of the War, not knowing upon what Concerts between us and *France* it was begun, nor how far we wou'd ſuffer it to go on upon the *French* Conqueſts. Beſides, the Animoſities of the Parties in *Holland*, long expreſs'd under their new Conſtitution and DE WIT's Miniſtry, began to flame again upon this Misfortune of their State. The Prince's Friends talk'd loud and boldly, That there was no Way to ſatisfy *England* but reſtoring the Prince; and that the Baſeneſs and Cowardice of their Troops were the Effects of turning out all Officers of Worth and Bravery for their Inclinations to the Prince, and mean Fellows brought in for no other Deſert than their Enmity declar'd to the Houſe of ORANGE. Upon this all Men expected a ſudden Change; the States were in Diſorder, and irreſolute what to do; the Troops were without a General, and, which is worſe, without Heart; and tho' DE RUYTER, by admirable Conduct, kept the Infection of theſe Evils out of his Fleet, which was our Part to deal with; yet Faction, Diſtruſt, Sedition and Diſtraction made ſuch Entrances upon the State and the Army, when the *French* Troops firſt invaded them, that of all the Towns and Fortreſſes on the *German* Side, (held impregnable in all their former Wars) not one beſides *Maeſtricht* made any Show of Reſiſtance, and the *French* became immediately Maſters of all the Inland Parts of the Provinces in as little Time as Travellers uſually employ to ſee and conſider them. *Maeſtricht* was taken after a ſhort Siege, as *Schenck-ſconce*, by the Help of an extream dry Seaſon, that made Rivers fordable where they had never been eſteem'd ſo before. The King of *France* march'd as far as *Utrecht*, where he fix'd his Camp and his Court, and from thence began to conſider of the Ways how to poſſeſs himſelf of the reſt, that was defended only by their Situation upon ſome flat Lands, which, as they had by infinite Labour in Canals and Digues, been either gain'd or preſerv'd from Inundations, ſo they were ſubject to them upon opening the Sluces, whenever the *Dutch* found no other Way of *ſaving* their Country but by *loſing* it. This, at leaſt, was generally believed in the *French* Camp and Court, and, as I have heard, was the Preſervation of the State; for that King unwilling to venture the Honour and Advantage of ſuch Conqueſts as he had made that Summer, upon the Hazards of a new ſort of War with a merciless Element, where neither Conduct nor Courage were of uſe, reſolv'd to leave the reſt to Practices of Peace with the States, upon the Advantage of the Terms he ſtood in, and the ſmall Diſtance of Place between them;

or, if theſe ſhou'd not ſucceed, then he truſted to the Froſts of the following Winter, which ſeldom fail in that Country to make all paſſable and ſafe for Troops and Carriages themſelves, that in Summer wou'd be impaſſable, either from the Waters or the Depth of the Soil.

IN the mean Time the State and the Government of *Holland* took a new Form, and with it a new Heart. Monſieur DE WIT and his Brother had been maſſacred by the ſudden Fury of the People at the *Hague*, and by the Fate of Miniſters that govern by a Party or Faction, who are uſually ſacrific'd to the firſt great Misfortunes abroad that fall in to aggravate or inflame the general Diſcontents at home. The Fact and the Manner having been very unuſual, may be the Subject of others Enquiry as it was of mine, which gave me this Account: The RUART of PUTTEN, eldeſt Brother to Monſieur DE WIT, had been accus'd of a Deſign upon the Prince's Life, and of endeavouring by Money to engage one of His Highneſs's Domeſticks in that Attempt: But no other Witneſs appearing, he was ſentenc'd only to be baniſh'd; at which the People ſhew'd great Diſſatisfaction, being poſſeſt with an Opinion of his Guilt. The Morning he was to come out of Priſon, Monſieur DE WIT (againſt the Opinion of his Friends) would needs go himſelf to bring him out with more

Honour, and carry him out of Town, and to that Purpoſe went with his Coach and Four Horſes to the Court. This being not uſual to this Miniſter, made the People take more Notice of it, and gather together tumultuouſly, firſt in the Streets where he paſſed, and then about the Court where the Priſoner was kept. Some of the Train'd-Bands of the *Hague* that were upon the Guard mingled among them, and began to rail aloud againſt the Judgment of the Court, the Crime of one Brother, and the Inſolence of the other, who pretended (as they ſaid) to carry him away in Triumph. In the midſt of this Heat and Paſſion, rais'd by theſe kind of Diſcourſes among the Populace, the Two Brothers came out; ſome of the Train'd-Bands ſtop'd them, began to treat them at firſt with ill Language, and from Words fell to Blows: Upon which Monſieur DE WIT, foreſeeing how the Tragedy wou'd end, took his Brother by the Hand, and was at the ſame Time knock'd down with the Butt-end of a Musket. They were both preſently laid dead upon the Place, then drag'd about the Town by the Fury of the People, and torn in Pieces. Thus ended one of the greateſt Lives of any Subject in our Age, about the 47th Year of his own; after having ſerved, or rather adminiſtred that State as Penſioner of *Holland* for about Eighteen Years, with great Honour to his Country and himſelf.

ſelf. After the Death of theſe Brothers, the Provinces and Towns ran with unanimous Voices into publick Demands of the Prince's being reſtor'd to the Authority of his Anceſtors. The States had in the Beginning of the Year declar'd him Captain-General and Admiral of their Forces, which was no more than DE WIT had always profeſt was deſign'd for him when he ſhou'd be of Age; but this was found neither to have ſatisfy'd *England* nor the Prince's Party at home, and therefore all the Members of the State agreed in thoſe Acts that were thought neceſſary to a full Reſtitution of his Highneſs, now at the Age of Twenty one Years, to the Office and Power of Stadtholder, with all Advantages, and even ſome more than thoſe which had been exercis'd by his Anceſtors. At the ſame Time Monſieur FAGEL was introduced into Monſieur DE WIT's Place of Penſioner of *Holland*, whoſe Love to his Country made him a Lover of the Prince, as believing it cou'd not be ſav'd by any other Hand, and whoſe Zeal to his own Religion made him an Enemy irreconcilable to *France*, whoſe Profeſſions as well as Deſigns were to deſtroy it.

THIS Revolution, as it calm'd all at home, ſo it made the firſt Appearance of defending what was left of the Country: The State grew united, the Army in heart, and foreign Princes began to take Confidence in the Honour and Conſtancy of the Young Prince, which they had in a manner wholly loſt upon the Diviſions and Misfortunes of the State. The *French* themſelves turn'd all their Applications and Practices the ſame Way, and made the Prince all the Offers that cou'd be of Honour and Advantages to his Perſon and Family, provided he wou'd be contented to depend upon them. The Bait they thought cou'd not fail of being ſwallow'd, and about which moſt Artifice was employ'd, was the Propoſal of making the Prince Sovereaign of the Provinces under the Protection of *England* and *France*. And to ſay Truth, at a Time when ſo little of the Provinces was left, and what remain'd was under Water, and in ſo imminent Danger upon the firſt Froſts of the Winter, this ſeem'd a Lure to which a meaner Soul than that of this Prince might very well ſtoop. But His was above it, and his Anſwers always firm; That he never wou'd betray a Truſt that was given him, nor ever ſell the Liberties of his Country that his Anceſtors had ſo long defended. Yet the Game he play'd was then thought ſo deſperate, that one of his neareſt Servants told me he had long expoſtulated it with his Maſter, and ask'd him at laſt, How he pretended to live after *Holland* was loſt? And whether he had thought ſo far? The Prince told him he had, and that he was reſolv'd to live upon the Lands he had left in *Germany*;

and that he had rather paſs his Life in hunting there, than ſell his Country or his Liberty to *France* at any Price. I will ſay nothing of the Embaſſy ſent at this Time by His Majeſty to the *French* King at *Utrecht*, where the Three Ambaſſadors, Duke of BUCKINGHAM, Lord ARLINGTON, and Lord HALIFAX found him in his higheſt Exaltation, for I cannot pretend to know what the true Ends or Subject of it was. The common Belief in *England* and *Holland* made it to be our Jealouſy of the *French* Conqueſts going too faſt whilſt ours were ſo lame; and great Hopes were rais'd in *Holland*, that it was to ſtop their Courſe or Extent; but theſe were ſoon daſh'd by the Return of the Ambaſſadors, after having renew'd and faſten'd the Meaſures formerly taken between the Two Crowns. And the Ambaſſadors were indeed content, as they paſs'd thro' *Holland*, that the firſt ſhou'd be thought; which gave Occaſion for a very good Repartee of the Princeſs Dowager to the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, who viſited her as they paſs'd thro' the *Hague*, and talking much of their being good *Hollanders*, ſhe told him, That was more than they ask'd, which was only that they ſhou'd be good *Engliſhmen*; he aſſur'd her they were not only ſo, but good *Dutchmen* too; that indeed they did not uſe *Holland* like a Miſtreſs, but they lov'd her like a Wife: To which ſhe reply'd, *Vray-*

ment, je croy que vous nous aimez comme vous aimez la vôtre; [*Truly, I believe you love Us as you love your own Wife.*]

WHEN *France* had loſt all Hopes of ſhaking the Prince of ORANGE's Conſtancy, they bent all their Thoughts upon ſubduing and ruining the Remainder of the Country. They had advanc'd as far as *Woerden*, and from thence they made their Ravages within Two or Three Leagues of *Leyden*, with more Violences and Cruelties than wou'd have been prudent, if they had hop'd to reclaim the Prince or States from the Obſtinacy of their Defence. The Prince encamp'd his Army near *Bodegrave*, between *Leyden* and *Woerden*, and there made ſuch a Stand with a Handful of Men, as the *French* cou'd never force. The Winter prov'd not favourable to their Hopes and Deſigns, and ſome Promiſes of Froſts inveigled them into Marches that prov'd almoſt fatal to them by a ſudden Thaw. This frighted them into Cautions, perhaps more than were neceſſary, and gave the Prince and States Leiſure to take their Meaſures for a following Campaign, with the Emperor, *Spain*, and the Dukes of BRANDENBURG and LUNENBURG, which prov'd a Diverſion to the Arms of *France*, and turn'd Part of them upon *Germany* and *Flanders*, ſo as to give over the Progreſs any further in *Holland*. Upon the Approach of the Winter, the Prince, after having taken *Naerden*, Three

Leagues from *Amſterdam*, in ſpight of all Reſiſtance and Oppoſition from either the *French* or the Seaſon, reſolv'd, like another young SCIPIO, to ſave his Country by abandoning it; and to avoid ſo many Sieges, as all the Towns they had loſt wou'd coſt to recover: He contented himſelf to leave the chief Poſts guarded with a Part of the Army, and with the reſt march'd into *Germany*, joyn'd Part of the Confederate Troops, beſieg'd *Bonne*, which had been put into the Hands of *France* at the Beginning of the War, wherein the Elector of COLOGNE and the Biſhop of MUNSTER had enter'd joyntly with *France*. The Boldneſs of this Action amaz'd all Men, but the Succeſs extoll'd the Prudence as well as the Bravery of it; for the Prince took *Bonne*, and by it open'd a Paſſage for the *German* Forces over the *Rhine*, and ſo into *Flanders*; and gave ſuch a Damp to the Deſigns and Enterpriſes of *France*, that they immediately abandon'd all their Conqueſts upon *Holland* in leſs Time than they made them, retaining only *Maeſtricht* and *Grave* of all they had poſſeſt belonging to this State.

IN this Poſture ſtood Affairs abroad, when the Peace of *England* was made in *February* 167¾; upon the Strength and Heart whereof the Prince of ORANGE concerted with the *German* and *Spaniſh* Troops to begin an offenſive War, and in the Head of an Army of above Forty Thouſand Men, to march into *France*.

THE *French* began now to wiſh the War well ended, and were very glad to accept his Majeſty's Mediation. The King was deſirous to make *France* ſome Amends for abandoning the Partie, and making a ſeparate Peace. Some of his Miniſters foreſaw he wou'd be Arbiter of the Peace by being Mediator, and that he might hinder any ſeparate Treaties by mediating a general one, and might reſtore Peace to Chriſtendom whenever he thought fit, and upon what Conditions he thought ſafe and juſt.

THE only Difficulties that appear'd in this Affair, were what the Confederates were like to make in accepting the King's Mediation, whoſe late Engagements with *France* had made him thought very partial on that Side. And the Houſe of AUSTRIA finding that Crown now abandon'd by *England*, had too greedily ſwallow'd the Hopes of a Revenge upon them to deſire any ſudden Treaty, 'till the Succeſſes they expected in the War might at leaſt make Way for reducing *France* to the Terms of that of the *Pyrenees*. This, I ſuppoſe, gave ſome Occaſion for my being again deſign'd for this Ambaſſy, being thought to have ſome Credit with *Spain*, as well as *Holland*, from the Negotiations I had formerly run through at the *Hague*, *Bruſſels*, and *Aix la Chapelle*, by which the remaining Parts of *Flanders* had been ſav'd out of the Hands of *France* in the Year 1668.

BUT having often reflected upon the unhappy Iſſue of my laſt publick Employments, and the fatal Turn of Counſels in our Court that had occaſion'd it, againſt ſo many wiſer Mens Opinions, as well as my own; I reſolv'd, before I went this Journey, to know the Ground upon which I ſtood, as well as I could, and to found it, by finding out what I was able of the King's true Sentiments and Diſpoſitions, as to the Meaſures he had now taken, or rather renew'd, and truſt no more to thoſe of his Miniſters, who had deceiv'd either me or themſelves. Therefore, at a long Audience in his Cloſet, I took Occaſion to reflect upon the late Counſels, and Miniſtry of the late Cabal; how ill His Majeſty had been advis'd to break Meaſures and Treaties ſo ſolemnly taken and agreed; how ill he had been ſerv'd, and how ill ſucceeded, by the violent Humour of the Nation breaking out againſt ſuch Proceedings, and by the Jealouſies they had rais'd againſt the Crown. The King ſaid, 'Twas true, he had ſucceeded ill, but if he had been well ſerv'd, he might have made a good Buſineſs enough of it; and ſo went on a good deal to juſtify what was paſt. I was ſorry to find ſuch a Preſage of what might again return from ſuch a Courſe of Thought in the King, and ſo went to the Bottom of that Matter. I ſhew'd how difficult, if not impoſſible, it was, to ſet up here the ſame Religion or Government that was in *France*; That the univerſal Bent of the Nation was againſt both; That many who were, perhaps, indifferent enough in the Matter of Religion, conſider'd it cou'd not be chang'd here but by Force of an Army; and that the ſame Force which made the King Maſter of their Religion, made him Maſter of their Liberties and Fortunes too. That in *France* there was none to be conſider'd but the Nobles and the Clergy; That if a King cou'd engage them in his Deſigns, he had no more to do; for the Peaſants having no Land, were as inſignificant in the Government as the Women and Children are here: That, on the contrary, the great Bulk of Land in *England* lies in the Hands of the Yeomanry or lower Gentry, and their Hearts are high by Eaſe and Plenty, as thoſe of the *French* Peaſantry are wholly diſpirited by Labour and Want. That the Kings of *France* are very great in Poſſeſſions of Lands, and in Dependances by ſuch vaſt Numbers of Offices both Military and Civil, as well as Eccleſiaſtical; whereas thoſe of *England*, having few Offices to beſtow, having parted with their Lands their Court of Wards and Knights Service, have no Means to raiſe or keep Armies on foot but by Supplies from their Parliaments, nor Revenues to maintain any foreign War by other Ways. That if they had an Army on foot, yet if compos'd of *Engliſh*, they wou'd never ſerve

Ends that the People hated and fear'd. That the Roman Catholicks in *England* were not the Hundredth Part of the Nation, and in *Scotland* not the Two Hundredth; and it ſeem'd againſt all common Senſe, to think by One Part to govern Ninety Nine that were of contrary Minds and Humours. That for foreign Troops, if they were few, they wou'd ſignify nothing but to raiſe Hatred and Diſcontent; and how to raiſe, to bring over at once, and to maintain many, was very hard to imagine. That the Force ſeeming neceſſary to ſubdue the Liberties and Spirits of this Nation, cou'd not be eſteem'd leſs than an Army of Threeſcore Thouſand Men, ſince the *Romans* were forc'd to keep Twelve Legions to that Purpoſe, the *Norman* to inſtitute Sixty Two Thouſand Knights Fees, and *Cromwell* left an Army of near Eighty Thouſand Men. That I never knew but one Foreigner that underſtood *England* well, which was GOURVILE, (whom I knew the King eſteem'd the ſoundeſt Head of any *Frenchman* he had ever ſeen); That when I was at *Bruſſels* in the firſt *Dutch* War, and he heard the Parliament grew weary of it, he ſaid, The King had nothing to do but to make the Peace; That he had been long enough in *England*, ſeen enough of our Court, and People, and Parliaments, to conclude,

Q'un Roy d'Angleterre qui veut être l'Homme de ſon peuple, eſt le plus grand Roy du monde; mais s'il veut être quelque choſe d'avantage, par Dieu il n'eſt plus rien.

[*That a King of* England *who will be the Man of his People, is the greateſt King in the World; but if he will be any thing more, by G—d he is nothing at all.*]

THE King heard me all very attentively, but ſeem'd a little impatient at firſt: Yet at laſt he ſaid, I had Reaſon in all, and ſo had GOURVILLE; and laying his Hand upon mine, he added, *Et je veux être l'Homme de mon peuple*; [*And I will be the Man of my People.*]

MY Ambaſſy Extraordinary to *Holland* was declar'd in *May*, and my Diſpatches finiſh'd at the Treaſury as well as the Secretary's Office, ſo as I went away in *July*. My Inſtructions were, in general, To aſſure the States of His Majeſty's Friendſhip, and firm Reſolution to obſerve his Treaties with them; then to offer his Mediation in the preſent War, which both they, and almoſt all *Chriſtendom*, were engag'd in; and after their Acceptance of it, to endeavour it likewiſe with all their Allies; and, to that End, to engage the Offices and Intervention of the States. But immediately after my Arrival at the *Hague*, to repair to the Prince of ORANGE, give him Part of His Majeſty's Intentions in all this Affair, and Aſſurance of his Kindneſs, and engage his Highneſs, as far as cou'd be, to ſecond His Majeſty's Deſires, in promoting a General Peace, wherein the *United Provinces* ſeem'd to have the greateſt Intereſt.

AFTER my Arrival at the *Hague* in *July* 1674, and a Delivery of my Credentials to the Preſident of the Week, and a Viſit to the Penſioner, wherein I diſcover'd a ſtrong Inclination in the States to a Peace, as far as their Honour and Engagements to their Allies wou'd allow them, and was aſſur'd of the States accepting His Majeſty's Mediation; I went away to *Antwerp*, in Hopes to have found the Prince at his Camp there, between *Antwerp* and *Louvain*, where he had lain ſome Time attending the Advance of the Confederate Troops, with whom he had concerted to joyn his Army upon their Arrival in *Flanders*. But Two Days before I came to *Antwerp*, the Army was march'd beyond *Louvain*, ſo as I was forc'd to go to *Bruſſels*, and there deſire a Guard to convey me to the Camp. The Punctilioes of my Character wou'd not ſuffer me to ſee the Count DE MONTEREY, tho' I had for ſome Years liv'd at *Bruſſels* in particular Friendſhip and Converſation with him. Few Strangers had perhaps ever been better us'd than I, during Three Years Reſidence at *Bruſſels*, by all Perſons of Quality, and indeed of all Ranks there, ſo that it was very ſurpriſing to me to meet ſuch a dry and cold Treatment from the Governor, and ſuch an Affectation in the Perſons of Quality, not ſo much as to viſit me; for I do not remember one that did it beſides the Count D'EGMONT, who was then not very well at Court, either in *Spain* or *Flanders*. Others that I met in the Streets, or the Park, tho' they came with open Arms to embrace me, yet never came at me, but contented themſelves with ſaying they intended it. When I ſent my Secretary to the Count DE MONTEREY with my Compliments, and Deſires of a Guard to the Prince of ORANGE, who was then not above Six Leagues off, he return'd the Firſt very coldly, and the other with Excuſes that amounted to a Refuſal; he ſaid, The Way was ſo dangerous, by ſtragling Parties of the Army, that he cou'd not adviſe me to venture with a ſmall Guard; and he had drawn out ſo many of the *Spaniſh* Troops into the Field, that he cou'd not give me a great one. I ſent again to deſire what he cou'd ſpare me, let the Number be what it wou'd; for though I wou'd not expoſe the King's Character, nor his Buſineſs, by any Accident I might prevent; yet when I had endeavour'd it by my Application to his Excellence, I wou'd take my Fortune, tho' he ſent me but Six of his Guards. He replied, That he cou'd not poſſibly ſpare any of them; but that next Morning he expected a Troop of Horſe to come into Town, and that as ſoon as it arriv'd, the Captain ſhou'd have Order to attend me. Next Morning was put off 'till Night, and Night to the Morning following; when the Count finding I was reſolv'd to go, though without Convoy, rather than to expect longer, ſent me a *Spaniſh* Captain with about Forty Horſe to convey me to *Louvain*. The Truth was, that the *Spaniards* were grown ſo jealous of His Majeſty's Mediation offer'd at the *Hague*, of the States and People's violent Humour to a Peace in *Holland*, and of the Offices they thought I might uſe, to ſlacken the Prince of ORANGE in the vigorous Proſecution of their preſent Hopes and Deſigns, that I found it was reſolv'd to delay firſt, and then to hinder abſolutely any Interview between the Prince and me 'till the Campaign was ended, but to do it with as little ill Grace as they cou'd. To this Purpoſe DU MOULIN (then one of the Prince's Secretaries, and an inveterate Enemy againſt the Court of *England*) was diſpatch'd between the Camp and *Bruſſels*, whilſt I lay there, and with Guards whereof Half wou'd have ſerv'd my Turn, or at leaſt contented me.

WHEN I came to *Louvain*, I found the Prince was march'd towards *Tirlemont*, but cou'd not learn where his next Halt was deſign'd. The *Spaniſh* Captain told me, he had Order to go no further than *Louvain*. So that I neither knew whither to go, nor cou'd go any Way without a Guard, as they aſſur'd me at *Louvain*. Whereupon I ſent immediately Mr. **Bulstrode**, who had come with me from *Bruſſels*, to endeavour to find out the Prince, and deſire him to appoint what Time and Place I ſhou'd attend His Highneſs, which I reſolv'd to do with thoſe few Servants I had brought with me, and ſuch others as I cou'd hire at *Louvain*, where I lay that Night.

THE next Morning Mr. **Bulstrode** return'd with the Prince's Anſwer, That he was upon his March; that he ſhou'd be very glad to ſee me, but cou'd not poſſibly appoint either Time or Place for it, becauſe his Motions were uncertain, and wou'd depend upon the Advices he receiv'd. By which I found plainly what I had ſuſpected at *Bruſſels*, That it was reſolv'd I ſhou'd not ſee the Prince before this Campaign was begun by the Actions then concerted among the Confederates. I wou'd not however ſeem to underſtand it ſo, nor any thing more in it than what His Highneſs was pleas'd to ſay; but I knew very well, that as they ſay none is more deaf than he that will not hear, ſo a Man that will not be ſeen may eaſily find Ways of avoiding it, eſpecially upon ſuch Circumſtances as the Prince and I were then in, who muſt have follow'd the Motions he wou'd have given me: And therefore I reſolv'd not to expoſe either His Majeſty's Character or

Credit, with his Nephew, by making that publick which had paſs'd between the Prince and me upon this Subject; but pretending my Health wou'd not ſuffer me to follow the Prince upon his March, I return'd to *Antwerp*, and gave His Majeſty an Account of all that had paſs'd, who extreamly approv'd my Conduct in it, and that I preſs'd no further a Point that I ſaw wou'd not go, and that was taken by the Prince, as well as the Count DE MONTEREY, ſo differently from what His Majeſty expected.

I ſtay'd only a Night at *Antwerp*, which paſs'd with ſo great Thunder and Lightning, that I promis'd my ſelf a very fair Day after it, to go back to *Rotterdam* in the States Yacht that ſtill attended me. The Morning prov'd ſo, but towards Evening the Sky grew foul, and the Seamen preſag'd ill Weather, and ſo reſolv'd to lie at Anchor before *Bergen op Zoom*, the Wind being croſs and little. When the Night was fallen as black as ever I ſaw, it ſoon began to clear up with the moſt violent Flaſhes of Lightning, as well as Cracks of Thunder, that I believe have ever been heard in our Age and Climate. This continu'd all Night, and we felt ſuch a fierce Heat from every great Flaſh of Lightning, that the Captain apprehended it wou'd fire his Ship. But about Eight the next Morning the Wind chang'd, and came up with ſo ſtrong a Gale, that we came to *Rotterdam* in about Four

Hours, and there found all Mouths full of the Miſchiefs and Accidents that the laſt Night's Tempeſt had occaſion'd, both among the Boats and the Houſes, by the Thunder, Lightning, Hail, or Whirlwinds. But the Day after came Stories to the *Hague*, from all Parts, of ſuch violent Effects as were almoſt incredible. At *Amſterdam* they were deplorable, many Trees torn up by the Roots, Ships ſunk in the Harbour, and Boats in the Canals, Houſes beaten down; and ſeveral People were ſnatch'd from the Ground as they walk'd the Streets, and thrown into the Canals. But all was ſilenc'd by the Relations from *Utrecht*, where the Great and Antient Cathedral was torn in Pieces by the Violence of this Storm; and the vaſt Pillars of Stone that ſupported it were wreath'd like a twiſted Club, having been ſo ſtrongly compos'd and cemented, as rather to ſuffer ſuch a Change of Figure, than break in Pieces as other Parts of the Fabrick did; hardly any Church of the Town eſcap'd the Violence of this Storm, and very few Houſes without the Marks of it Nor were the Effects of it leſs aſtoniſhing by the Relations from *France* and *Bruſſels*, where the Damages were infinite, as well from Whirlwinds, Thunder, and Lightning, as from Hailſtones of prodigious Bigneſs.

AT my Return to the *Hague* I had long Converſations with the Penſioner, by which I gain'd the Lights neceſſary to diſcover the whole preſent Scene of Affairs, and Pulſes of the ſeveral Confederates in what related to the General Peace. I told him how much His Majeſty was ſatisfy'd with that he had lately made with the States; how much he was reſolv'd to continue and to cultivate it. How much Reaſon he had to be content with the Poſture that had left him in a Peace with all his Neighbours, while they were all at War. That Advantages of Commerce from it were enough to make him trouble himſelf no further about the Peace of Chriſtendom, if his Goodneſs and Piety did not prevail more with him than his Intereſts. But that theſe, and the Deſires of a General Good, had perſuaded him to offer his Mediation in the preſent Quarrels. That it had been already accepted by *France*; and that the Emperor and *Spain* had anſwer'd, they wou'd conſider of it in Concert with their Allies. That the States Ambaſſadors at *London* had aſſur'd His Majeſty their Maſters wou'd be pleas'd with it, and doubted not their Conſent that the Treaty ſhou'd be at *London*; and that thereupon His Majeſty had charg'd me with a Letter to the States to offer them his Mediation. That I cou'd not doubt their accepting it with the beſt Grace that cou'd be, for I knew their Intereſt was to have a Peace, and not to diſoblige the King. That if His Majeſty were partial to any Side, they ought to believe it wou'd be to that wherein his own

Nephew was ſo deeply concern'd; and the more, becauſe he offer'd his Offices towards a Peace, at a Time when the Advantages and Preparations for the War ran ſo high on the *French* Side, as he doubted the Events might ſhew if it continu'd. That they knew his Intereſt wou'd not ſuffer him to ſee *Flanders* loſt; and that conſidering what had paſs'd, his Honour wou'd not now ſuffer him to think of preſerving it any other Way than by that of a Peace. That he wou'd be glad to ſee that Country left by the next Peace in a better Poſture of Defence than it was by the laſt, and the *Spaniſh* Territories lie cloſer and rounder than they were then left: That when this ſhou'd be concluded, His Majeſty wou'd be ready to enter into the ſtrongeſt Guaranties they cou'd deſire, and might with Honour enter into a War to preſerve it, though he cou'd not to obtain it. The Penſioner firſt gave me Thanks for my good Offices in the late Peace, and in all the Meaſures of Friendſhip that had interceeded between His Majeſty and them ſince the firſt Breach. He applauded the King's Reſolution in ſo pious and generous an Offer, and acknowledg'd his Intereſt might lead him to other Diſpoſitions. That he doubted not the States Willingneſs to accept it; all the Difference wou'd be about the Time and the Manner of doing it. As to this, he ſaid, they cou'd not do it without the Communication at leaſt of their Allies;

lies; but wou'd immediately give them Part of His Majeſty's Offer, and the States Diſpoſitions to receive it. That for the Terms of a Peace, as to their own Parts they wou'd be content to make his Majeſty the Arbiter of it. That they had already recover'd all the Towns they had loſt except *Grave* and *Maeſtricht*, the laſt of which was in ſome Manner engag'd to *Spain* when it ſhou'd be recover'd; and for the other, they doubted not to have a good Account of it very ſoon, Orders being already gone to inveſt it. But he doubted whether their Allies wou'd be ſo eaſy in their Expectations or Demands; and that 'twas impoſſible for the States to leave them who had ſav'd their Country from Ruine when Two ſo great Kings had invaded 'em; or to break the Treaties which they had made Offenſive with the Emperor, *Spain* and *Brandenburg*. That the Terms ſtipulated with *Spain* oblig'd them to reduce *France* to the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*; but only a Reſerve was made by one Article, which was, Unleſs it ſhou'd otherwiſe be agreed by Conſent between them. That whatever *Spain* wou'd be content with, ſhou'd ſatisfy them; tho' they were both equally ſenſible of the Deſigns and Ambition of *France*, as well as of their ill Talent to the States. That they cou'd never hope for ſuch another Conjuncture, to reduce them to ſuch Bounds and Meaſures as might be ſafe to their Neighbours, and give

Quiet to Chriſtendom. That 'twas now an ill Time to enter into the Terms of a Peace between *France* and *Spain*, becauſe he knew they ſhou'd have ill Grace to demand the Reſtitution of any Towns the *Spaniards* had loſt in *Flanders* by the laſt War, and given up by the Peace that ſucceeded it; and yet His Majeſty knew, as well as they, that without it a Peace cou'd neither be ſafe for *Flanders*, nor for *Holland*, nor conſequently for *England*. But he believ'd there wou'd not paſs many Days before ſome deciſive Action wou'd happen between the Armies, now not far diſtant in the Field, which wou'd make Room for the Negotiation of Peace that might ſucceed next Winter, in which His Majeſty wou'd find the Intereſts and Humours of a Trading Country as theirs was, very ſtrong, and diſpos'd to preſs their Allies, as far as was poſſible, to facilitate ſo great and ſo good a Work. And for the reſt of the Allies beſides *Spain*, he had no Reaſon to ſuſpect any great Difficulties wou'd ariſe, ſo little having yet paſs'd in the War between *France* and them.

THE Penſioner was right in expecting ſome ſudden Action between the Armies; for about the Middle of *Auguſt* came the News of the Battel of *Seneffe*, between the Confederates under the Command of the Prince of ORANGE, and the *French* under the Prince of CONDE: But it prov'd not an Action ſo deciſive as was expected between

Two Armies of ſo great Force, and ſo animated by the Hatred and Revenge of the Parties, as well as by the Bravery and Ambition of the Commanders. The Succeſs of this Fight was ſo differently reported by thoſe engag'd in it, that it was hard to judge of the Victory, which each Side challeng'd, and perhaps Neither with any great Reaſon. The Confederates had for ſome Days ſought a Battel with great Deſire and Endeavour; and the *French* avoided it, with Reſolution not to fight unleſs upon evident Advantage, whilſt both Armies lay near *Nivelle*, and not far diſtant from one another. The Reaſon of this was thought to be, on one Side, the Ardour of the young Prince of ORANGE to make Way, by a Victory, into *France* it ſelf, and there revenge the Invaſion of his Country; and at the ſame Time to make his firſt Eſſay of a pitch'd Battel, againſt ſo Great and Renowned a General as the Prince of CONDE. On the other Side, this old Captain had too much Honour to loſe, and thought he had not enough to gain, by entring the Liſts with a Prince of Three and Twenty Years old, bred up in the Shade of a contrary Faction, 'till he was forc'd into the Field by the *French* Invaſion of his Country. Nor was the Advantage leſs on the *French* Side in the Reputation of their Troops, than of their General; compos'd of excellent Officers, choſen Soldiers, exactly diſciplin'd, long train'd for Action before they began it, and now fluſh'd by the uninterrupted Succeſſes of Two Wars. But the *Dutch* Troops, when the Prince of ORANGE enter'd upon the Command, were old or lazy Soldiers, diſus'd with long Peace, and diſabled with young unskilful Officers, (choſen by no other Merit, than that of a Faction againſt the Houſe of ORANGE,) then fill'd up, when the War broke out, with haſty and undiſtinguiſh'd Levies, and disheartn'd with perpetual Loſſes of Towns, and Defeats of Parties, during the Two firſt Campaigns: The Prince of CONDE had another Reſtraint upon the uſual Boldneſs of his Nature in ſuch Occaſions, which was the ill Poſture he had been in at Court ſince this King's Reign, and in Regard how much more he wou'd have to anſwer for than another Man upon any great Misfortune to his Army, which muſt have left the Way open for the Confederates to enter *France*, unguarded on that Side by any ſtrong Frontier; ſo as no Man knew what Shake it might give to the Greatneſs of that Crown, with the Help of great and general Diſcontents, whereof this Prince was thought to have his Share.

UPON theſe Diſpoſitions in the Generals, the Battel was for ſome Time induſtriouſly ſought and avoided; 'till the Prince of ORANGE, believing there was no Way of coming to a Battel, but by the Siege of ſome

Place that might be thought worth the Venture to relieve, broke up, and march'd away towards *Seneſſe*; his Army divided into Three Parts, whereof the *German* Troops under the Count De Souche's had the Van, the *Spaniſh* under the Prince of Vaudemont the Rear, and the *Dutch* under Count Waldeck the main Battel; with whom the Prince march'd, and commanded the whole Confederate Army.

THE Prince of Conde obſerving their March, which was not far from one Side of his Intrenchments; and that by the Straitneſs of ſome Paſſages they were forc'd to file off in ſmall Lines, ſtay'd 'till the Van-guard and main Body were over one of theſe Paſſes, and the Rear beginning to enter upon it; when he drew out his Men, and fell with great Fierceneſs upon the Rear of the *Spaniards*, broke them with great Slaughter, and not much Reſiſtance, took their Baggage, ſeveral Standards, and many Priſoners of Note. The Prince of Orange, upon Notice of the *French* March towards the *Spaniſh* Troops, had ſent Three Squadrons back to their Aſſiſtance, with all the Diligence that cou'd be; but the *Spaniards* already broken, brought the *Dutch* into Diſorder by falling in among them; and the *French* purſuing with great Bravery, broke the *Dutch* Squadrons to Pieces, killing or taking all their Commanders, and ſeveral Standards.

IF the Prince of CONDE had contented himſelf with this Succeſs and Execution, he had left no Diſpute of a Victory; but lured on by the Hopes of one more entire, and Belief, the *Dutch*, whom he eſteem'd the worſt Troops, wou'd not ſtand, after the *Spaniards*, and a great Part of their own, were wholly routed, he follow'd the Chaſe, and drawing out his whole Army upon them, brought it to a Set Battel, which was more than he intended. In the mean Time the Prince of ORANGE marching to the Relief of the *Spaniards*, and the Squadrons he had ſent, was at firſt envelop'd by his own flying Men, whom he cou'd neither ſtop by Words nor Blows, by Promiſes nor Reproaches; 'till joyning the reſt of his own Forces that ſtood firm, and the Imperialiſts coming up to enforce them, the Battel began with as great Fury as any has been fought in the whole Courſe of the Wars, continu'd ſo for about Eight Hours 'till Sunſet, and about Two Hours after by Moonlight, 'till that failing too, the Fight ended, rather by the Obſcurity of the Night, than the Wearineſs or Weakneſs of either Side. The Prince of ORANGE, in the whole Courſe of this Action, gave all Orders with ſuch Prudence, and Obſervance of all Advantages, led up his ſeveral Squadrons with that Bravery, made ſuch bold Stands againſt his own broken Troops, as well as againſt the Fierceneſs of their Purſuers, for Six Hours together in the hotteſt of the Fire; ſometimes charging into the Midſt of the Enemies, ſometimes overborn by his own that fled, 'till he rallied them and led them back to the Charge; expos'd to more Danger than moſt private Soldiers in the Field; ſo that the old Count DE SOUCHES, in his Letter to the States upon this Occaſion, told them, That *in the whole Courſe of the Action, the Prince had ſhew'd the Conduct of an Old experienc'd Commander, and the Valour of a* Cæſar. And indeed his Allies, his Friends, and his Enemies, agreed in giving him equal Glory from this Adventure. But he had more from none than from the Prince of CONDE's Teſtimony, That *he had done like an old Captain in all, but only in venturing himſelf too much like a young Man.* Yet this old General had done the ſame in this Day's Action, as much as the youngeſt Cavalier in his Army cou'd do, when he found the Battel fought ſo deſperately, and all at Stake; whereas 'tis certain, that nothing cou'd have given Vigour to the *Dutch* Troops, after the firſt Rout, but the repeated Examples and Dangers of the Prince, and Shame of not following ſuch a Leader in all the deſperate Charges he made that Day, which both the Generals ſeem'd reſolv'd to die rather than to loſe.

AS the Numbers were not much different when the Fight began, ſo were thoſe eſteem'd that fell in this Battel, and to reach to about Six or Seven Thouſand on either Side; but of the *French*, many more Officers and Gentlemen than was uſual, in proportion to the Common Soldiers. When the Night parted the Armies, the *French* retir'd back to their former Quarters, and next Morning the Confederates march'd to that which they deſign'd when they broke up the Day before. The Allies claim'd the Victory becauſe they were laſt upon the Field; and the *French* upon carrying away the greateſt Number of Priſoners and Standards: But whoever had the Honour, they both felt the Loſs.

AFTER the Repair neceſſary in each Camp upon this ſharp Encounter, each Army took the Field again, and gave a general Expectation of another Battel before the Campaign ended: The Prince of ORANGE ſought it all he cou'd; but the Prince of CONDE choſe and fortify'd his Encampments ſo, as not to be forc'd to one without apparent Diſadvantages, and contented himſelf to obſerve the Motions of the Allies, to preſerve the Towns of the *French Conqueſts* in *Flanders*, and prevent any Invaſion of *France*, which was deſign'd this Summer with great Confidence by the Confederate Armies, both on this Side and that in *Alſace*, but with equal Diſappointment; unleſs it were to Monſieur STAREMBERG, who, in the Beginning of the Campaign complaining of the Wine at the Prince's Table, the Prince told them, *He wou'd make them drink* *good Wine in* Champagne *before the Summer ended.* He, who lov'd it well, deſir'd the Prince to be as good as his Word; was afterwards taken at the Battel of *Seneffe*, and carried to *Rheims*, with ſeveral *Dutch* Officers; where ſitting down to Dinner, and finding the Wine excellent, he drank the Prince's Health, and ſaid, *He wou'd truſt him as long as he liv'd; for he had kept his Word, and made them drink good Wine in* Champagne.

THE Prince of ORANGE finding no other Way of Action, ſat down before *Oudenarde* in *September*; and had his End of drawing the Prince of CONDE out of his cautious Marches, who came immediately to relieve it, and fight the Allies before they were ready to give an Aſſault to the Town. Upon Sight of the *French* Army, the Prince of ORANGE call'd a Council of War, and propos'd to draw out and attack them immediately, before they were reſted after their hard Day's March. The *Spaniards* were content, but the Count DE SOUCHES wou'd not agree to it; and ſo this Occaſion was loſt, and with ſuch Diſcontent among the chief Officers, that next Day the *Germans* left the Trenches, and march'd away about a League, and left Room to the *French* to put what Relief they pleas'd into the Town. Upon this the Prince of ORANGE was forc'd to riſe too, with the reſt of his Army; and upon Conferences with the Count DE MONTEREY, as well as

DE SOUCHES, reſolv'd to leave the greateſt Part of the *Dutch* Forces with the Count, and with the reſt to go himſelf, and preſs the Siege of *Grave*. And here began thoſe Diſſentions among the chief Captains of the Confederates, that continu'd to ruin their Deſigns, and prov'd ſo fatal to them in the whole Courſe of the War; and againſt all Appearances, made good the *Spaniſh* Proverb, that, *Liga nunca coje grandes paxaros*; [*Birdlime never catches great Birds*]; the ſame Word ſignifying a League and Birdlime, and meaning, That as this never catches great Birds, ſo the t'other never makes great Conqueſts, tho' it often does great Defences: Yet theſe firſt Diviſions were endeavour'd to be cur'd by the Emperor's recalling the Count DE SOUCHES, and *Spain* the Count DE MONTEREY, who were both thought to have maim'd the Actions of this Campaign, or, at leaſt, not to have ſeconded, as they might have done, the Prince of ORANGE's Vigour, in purſuing them to other ſort of Succeſſes than it ended with. The Prince having fail'd of what he propos'd in favour of the *Spaniards*, was reſolv'd to free his own Country from the laſt Mark of their intended Servitude, before this Seaſon ended. *Grave* was the laſt Town the *French* held in any of the Seven Provinces, and had been kept as a Magazine both of what had been taken in the other Places, and was not eaſily carried away when they quitted them;

ſo as there was above Three hundred Pieces of Canon in the Town, a very full and brave Garriſon, compos'd of the beſt Troops, and all that cou'd be added to the Fortifications of the Place, after the *French* took it, tho' it was before counted one of the beſt the *Dutch* had. It had been inveſted a Month before; yet the Prince found the Siege but little advanc'd at his Arrival; and the *Dutch* Soldiers ſo rebuted with the brave Defence from within, that nothing cou'd have carried the Place at this Seaſon, being about the Middle of *October* when the Prince arriv'd, but the ſame Humour of leading on his Men himſelf whenever they ſhrunk, which can never be too much prais'd, nor too much blam'd in this Prince; becauſe, as his Country and Allies wou'd have had no General if they had loſt him, ſo they wou'd have had no Army if they had not ventur'd him. In ſhort, by this and his uſual Application and Vigour, as well as the common Methods of ſuch Sieges, he took *Grave* by the End of *October*, with equal Glory to himſelf, and Satisfaction to all the Provinces; and return'd to the *Hague* about the Middle of *November*, after having diſpos'd his Forces into their Winter Quarters.

WITH the Prince of ORANGE return'd moſt of the General Officers to the *Hague*, and among the reſt old Prince MAURICE of NASSAU, who, as the Prince told me, had, with the greateſt Induſtry that cou'd be, ſought all Occaſions of dying fairly at the Battel of *Seneffe*, without ſucceeding, which had given him great Regret; and I did not wonder at it, conſidering his Age, of about Seventy Six, and his long Habits both of Gout and Stone. When he came to viſit me upon his Return, and before he went to his Government of *Cleves*, it came in my Head to ask him an idle Queſtion, becauſe I thought it not very likely for me to ſee him again, and I had a Mind to know from his own Mouth, the Account of a common, but much credited Story, that I had heard ſo often from many others, of an old Parrot he had in *Braſil*, during his Government there, that ſpoke, and ask'd and anſwer'd common Queſtions like a Reaſonable Creature; ſo that thoſe of his Train there generally concluded it to be Witchery or Poſſeſſion; and one of his Chaplains, who liv'd long afterwards in *Holland*, wou'd never from that Time endure a Parrot, but ſaid they all had a Devil in them. I had heard many Particulars of this Story, and aſſever'd by People hard to be diſcredited, which made me ask Prince MAURICE what there was in it? he ſaid, with his uſual Plainneſs, and Dryneſs in Talk, There was ſomething true, but a great deal falſe, of what had been reported. I deſir'd to know of him what there was of the Firſt? he told me ſhort and coldly, That he had heard of ſuch an old Parrot when he came to *Braſil*; and tho' he believ'd nothing of it, and 'twas a good Way off, yet he had ſo much Curioſity as to ſend for it; That 'twas a very large, and a very old one; and when it came firſt into the Room where the Prince was, with a great many *Dutchmen* about him, it ſaid preſently, *What a Company of White Men are here?* They ask'd what he thought that Man was? pointing at the Prince. It anſwer'd, *Some General or other.* When they brought it cloſe to him, he ask'd it, *D'ou venez vous?* [*Whence come you?*] It anſwer'd, *De* Maragnan, [*From* Maragnan]. The Prince, *A qui eſtes vous?* [*To whom do you belong?*] The Parrot, *A un* Portugais, [*To a* Portugueze]. The Prince, *Que fais tu là?* [*What do you there?*] The Parrot, *Je garde les Poulets*, [*I look after the Chickens*]. The Prince laugh'd, and ſaid, *Vous gardez les Poulets?* [*You look after the Chickens?*] The Parrot anſwer'd, *Ouy moy, & je ſçay bien faire*, [*Yes I, and I know how to do it well*]; and made the Chuck Four or Five Times that People uſe to make to Chickens when they call them. I ſet down the Words of this worthy Dialogue in *French*, juſt as Prince MAURICE ſaid them to me. I ask'd him, In what Language the Parrot ſpoke? and he ſaid, In *Braſilian*. I ask'd, Whether he underſtood *Braſilian*? he ſaid, No; but he had taken Care to have Two Interpreters by him, one a *Dutchman* that ſpoke *Braſilian*, and t'other a *Braſilian* that ſpoke *Dutch*: That he ask'd them ſeparately and privately, and both of them agreed in telling him juſt the ſame thing that the Parrot ſaid. I cou'd not but tell this odd Story, becauſe it is ſo much out of the Way, and from the firſt Hand, which may well paſs for a good one; for I dare ſay this Prince, at leaſt believ'd himſelf, in all he told me, having ever paſs'd for a very honeſt and pious Man. I leave it to Naturaliſts to reaſon, and to other Men to believe as they pleaſe upon it; however, it is not perhaps amiſs to relieve or enliven a buſy Scence ſometimes with ſuch Digreſſions, whether to the Purpoſe or not.

BEFORE I enter upon the Negotiations of the following Winter, it will be neceſſary to give a ſhort View of the Actions of the ſeveral Armies, and Diſpoſitions of the Parties in other Places, as well as in the *Low-Countries*, ſince all contributed to the different Humours that appear'd at the *Hague* about the Peace, which was indeed the preſent Scene of that Affair, as well from His Majeſty's Mediation, as the great Weight of the States in the Confederacy; but chiefly from the Perſon of the Prince of ORANGE, who ſeem'd to be the Spirit or Genius of the whole Alliance, and for whom the reſt, as well as the States themſelves, had ſo great a Truſt and Deference: For ſeveral of their Miniſters made no Difficulty to tell me upon many Occaſions, That their Maſters wou'd not have entred into the preſent Engagements they were in, had it not been more upon the Confidence they had of the Prince's Perſonal Honour and Juſtice, than either the Forces or the uſual Conduct of the States-General, eſpecially in what concern'd the foreign Treaties and Negotiations.

IN *Rouſſillon* little paſs'd of Importance between the Forces there: The Thoughts of both Crowns were bent on that Side more upon reducing or relieving *Meſſina*, that had made an abſolute Revolt from *Spain*, and endeavour'd to gain Protection from *France*, which was not difficult in this Conjuncture; as that which might not only give a great Diverſion to the *Spaniſh* Forces, but open a Way for the *French* into the Conqueſt of *Sicily*, and new Deſigns upon *Naples*, which had been the Stage of ſo many great Wars between the Houſes of *France* and *Arragon*.

IN *Germany* the Prince-Electors PALATINE, MENTZ, and TRIER, had entred into League with the Emperor for the Defence of the *German* Liberty againſt all Strangers. *France* was ſo enrag'd againſt the Elector PALATINE upon theſe Meaſures he had taken, that Monſieur DE TURENNE, at the Head of a *French* Army, march'd into his Country, and made ſuch cruel Ravages in it, and ſo unuſual to that General's common Procedures, that the

Elector ſent him a Challenge; which Monſieur DE TURENNE anſwer'd He cou'd not accept without his Maſter's Leave, but was ready to meet him in the Field at the Head of his Army, againſt any that he and his new Allies wou'd bring together.

THIS Prince, ſpighted at the helpleſs Ruine of his Country, prov'd the greater Incentive among the *German* Princes this Summer to joyn their Forces, in order to ſome vigorous Action againſt *France* on that Side. The Duke of LUNENBURG engag'd firſt, and afterwards the Elector of BRANDENBURG, in the common Cauſe of the Empire's being invaded; *Strasburg* was prevail'd with to throw off the Neutrality they had enjoy'd ſince the War began, and declare for the Empire in this Quarrel. The new Biſhop of MUNSTER entred into the ſame Meaſures, and all together made a conſiderable Force, that they brought into the Field, on t'other Side the *Rhine*, about the End of *Auguſt*, or Beginning of *September*. The old Duke of LORRAIN joyn'd them with his Troops: The Duke of LUNENBURG was there in Perſon; and the Elector PALATINE had the Command of the Army. They were divided, as well as the Imperial Officers, whether they ſhou'd enter upon any conſiderable Action or no 'till the Duke of BRANDENBURG came up, who was upon his March at the Head of a very conſiderable Army, that joyn'd the Confederates in *October*. This gave great Hopes and Deſigns of entring either *Lorrain* or *Burgundy*, or taking *Briſac*, or at leaſt *Zaberne* and *Haguenau*, and thereby ſecuring their Winter Quarters in *Alſace*. Monſieur DE TURENNE play'd a defenſive Game, with a ſmall Army and ill handled by the Sickneſs of the Seaſon. *France* was at ſuch a Pinch for Men, or Fear of an Irruption into their Country from *Flanders* or *Alſace*, that they call'd their Ban and Arriere-Ban, the aſſembling whereof had been long diſus'd, and in a Manner antiquated. However with ſome of theſe new Troops, and a Reinforcement from *Flanders* after the Battel of *Seneffe*, Monſieur DE TURENNE, by plain Force of Skill, and that admirable Science in the Conduct of a War, which no Captain of his Age cou'd diſpute with him, prevented and diſappointed every one of the Confederates Deſigns, without ever coming to a Set Battel, tho' not without ſeveral ſharp Fights of Part of the Forces upon Neceſſity or Advantage: So that the Winter ended with the Allies quitting the laſt Point they pretended, and wou'd have been indeed deciſive in the Iſſue of this Campaign, which was the *German* Army's quartering in *Alſace* and other Parts on that Side the *Rhine*.

THE moſt conſiderable Loſs or Event of this Campaign upon the *Rhine*, was the Death of the young Prince of BRANDEN-

BURG, who died about the End of it at *Straſburg*, of a Feaver ſo violent and precipitate, as gave Occaſion for the uſual Suſpicions and Diſcourſes that attend the Death of ſuch young Princes as give great Hopes and Fears to their Enemies and Friends. This was the more conſider'd for a particular and intimate Friendſhip between him and the Prince of ORANGE, who, tho' Couſin Germans, and engag'd in one common Cauſe, were yet nearer joyn'd by Likeneſs of Humours than of Intereſt, and by the Ties of Perſonal Kindneſs than of Blood; and I never knew the Prince of ORANGE more ſenſible of any Misfortune that happen'd to him than of this.

IN all the Encounters mention'd on this Side, no Forces were oftner ſeen, or more felt, or gain'd more Honour for their Firmneſs and Bravery, than the *Engliſh* Regiments ſtill remaining in the *French* Service, to whom the *Germans* attributed wholly Monſieur DE TURENNE's Succeſſes, as he did a great deal himſelf. But the Diviſions among the Princes that made up the Confederate Armies, may juſtly be ſaid to have had all the Merit that was not perſonal in Monſieur DE TURENNE; who was certainly allow'd by all that compar'd them to be the greateſt Captain by much of his Age, in the Courſe of a War or Conduct of a Campaign; tho' the Prince of CONDE was thought greater in a Day of Battel; both as to the Diſpoſition and Order of an Army, vigorous Enterprize, and ſharp, as well as pertinent Reſolutions, upon all ſudden Emergencies, to which the Courſe and Chance of a Battel is every way ſubject.

FOR *Sweden* and *Denmark*, they were not yet enter'd into the Liſts, but ſeem'd now upon the Point of taking Party. *Sweden* had acted the Part of a Mediator ever ſince the breaking up of the Treaty at *Cologne*, both by their Ambaſſador at *Vienna* and the *Hague*, who plied both theſe Courts with very long and frequent Memorials to that Purpoſe during this whole Summer; but they had been as hard ply'd themſelves all that Time by the Practices and Advantages offer'd by *France*, both to that Crown, and the chief Miniſters, to engage them in the War. Nothing ſeem'd ſo likely to determine them, as the Treaty and Expedition of the Duke of BRANDENBURG on the Confederate Side, which laid open his Country to the Invaſion of *Sweden*, and gave them a Pretence of a Breach, in that Prince, of the Treaties between them, in making War againſt *France* without the Conſent of the *Swedes*. Therefore, as ſoon as he was gone towards the *Rhine* with all the Strength of his Forces, the *Swedes* drew the beſt and greateſt Part of theirs into *Pomerania*; and as the Duke of BRANDENBURG advanc'd in the common

mon Deſigns againſt *France*; ſo *Sweden*, without declaring War, purſu'd their Meaſures with that Crown, and before the End of the Year had drawn their Forces into the *Brandenburg* Country, tho' without Attempt upon any Places, and even with Pretence at firſt of paying for their Quarters, which was reckon'd upon as ſhort-liv'd among Soldiers in another Prince's Country, whether Friend or Enemy. The preſent Effect of this Inroad was the ending of another Pretence of that Crown, which was that of Mediation, and ſo devolving that Figure wholly upon His Majeſty; and on the other Side giving Hopes to the Confederates of engaging *Denmark* on their Side, if for no other Reaſon, yet upon that old one among them, of being always oppoſite to *Sweden*, and their Intereſts or Allies.

AS ſoon as the Prince came to the *Hague*, I attended him, and after Compliments paſt, I acquainted him with what His Majeſty had commanded me of his Perſonal Kindneſs and Eſteem for His Highneſs; of his Reſolutions to obſerve and cultivate his preſent Friendſhip with the States, and Deſire to ſee a General Peace reſtor'd to *Chriſtendom*, in which he intended to act wholly in Concert with His Highneſs, whoſe Opinion as to the Thing, and the Conditions moſt neceſſary for His Highneſs to inſiſt on, he very much deſir'd to underſtand as ſoon and as fully as he cou'd.

The Prince anſwer'd me with Expreſſions of Duty and Kindneſs to His Majeſty, and Deſires of a near Conjunction between the Two Nations, which he thought alone cou'd make His Majeſty ſafe at home and abroad. For the Peace, he ſaid, tho' he cou'd make many Complaints of the Conduct both of the *Spaniards* and *Imperialiſts* ſince their Treaties; yet the States cou'd not, with any Faith or Honour, make a Separate Peace, upon any Terms that *France* cou'd offer them: That a General Peace cou'd not be made without leaving *Flanders* in a Poſture of defending it ſelf upon any new or ſudden Invaſion, againſt which no Guarantees cou'd ſecure it: That *Spain* cou'd not, upon any Exchange, quit the County of *Burgundy*, nor *Cambray*, nor any thing in *Flanders* beyond the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, unleſs it were *Aire* and *St. Omer*. This, he ſaid, was his Opinion; but if he might know the King's, and find it at all conſiſtent with the Safety of his Country, and his own Honour towards his Allies, he wou'd do all he cou'd to bring it about, as he had already done the Point of His Majeſty's Mediation, which was accepted both at *Madrid* and *Vienna*. I told him, That the King, having been the Author and Guarantee of the Peace at *Aix*, and not having yet ſeen the *French* beaten out of any Town that was given them by that Treaty, cou'd with ill Grace propoſe any thing to *France* beyond thoſe

Terms, unleſs it were upon ſome Equivalent. He reply'd reſolutely, 'Twere better going on with the War, let it laſt as long, and coſt as much as it wou'd: That His Majeſty might, if he pleas'd, induce *France* to whatever he thought juſt; and cou'd never ſhew him ſo much Kindneſs, as to bring him out of this War with Honour: If he wou'd not, it muſt go on 'till ſome Change happen'd in the Condition of the Parties, to make the Peace more neceſſary on one Side or other; how it wou'd fall out he cou'd not tell, and muſt leave to God, but he thought they had as fair a Game as the *French*: That he was ſure they might have been abſolutely beaten at *Seneffe*, if the Count DE SOUCHES had ſo pleas'd, and have had a fair Blow for it again at *Oudenarde*: That he was ſure *Germany* cou'd furniſh more and better Men than *France*, and they were now in a Manner united in the common Defence; and he hop'd the Emperor's Counſels and Conduct wou'd not be ſo betray'd as they had been: That however, he muſt perform what his own Honour, as well as that of the States, was engag'd in to their Allies, let it coſt what it wou'd.

I imagin'd in what he ſaid of the Emperor's Counſels, he reflected upon the Buſineſs of Prince LAKOWITZ, whoſe Diſgrace made ſo great Noiſe about this Time, and with Particulars ſo extraordinary of the *French*

Practices in that Court, that they were very hard to believe, and very uncertain to know at that Diſtance, and even at *Vienna* it ſelf; and therefore I wou'd not enter into them with the Prince, nor ſhall I here, as being foreign to this preſent Scene.

THERE was one Point more I entred into with the Prince, which was upon Occaſion of the many diſcontented Perſons in *England*, at the Courſe of the laſt Miniſtry and War, who were ſuſpected to have trinkled at leaſt with *Holland* about raiſing Seditions, and perhaps Inſurrections in *England*, if the War continu'd, and the *Dutch* Fleets ſhou'd appear upon our Coaſts, which were like to be unguarded the next Summer by the Streights His Majeſty was in for Money to ſet out a Fleet. It was believ'd, among many others, my Lord SHAFTSBURY was one that had of late plaid this Game; who having been as deep as any Man in the Counſels of the Cabal, and gone ſo far in the publick Applauſe of them, as in a Speech in Parliament to have apply'd the *Delenda Carthago*, [Carthage *muſt be deſtroy'd*], to our Intereſt in the Deſtruction of *Holland*; yet when he ſaw the Parliament and Nation ſullen upon it, and that the King cou'd not purſue it with ſo much ill Humour in both, he turn'd ſhort upon the Court and the reſt of the Cabal, fell in with the popular Humour in the City as well as Parliament, decried the preſent

Deſigns and Conduct, tho' with the Loſs of his Chancellor's Place, and was believ'd to manage a Practice in *Holland* for ſome Inſurrection here. I told the Prince what the King ſuſpected of ſome of his Subjects, without naming any; how much Service it wou'd be to His Majeſty to know them more certainly, and how kind it wou'd be in His Highneſs to diſcover them. The Prince was ſtanch, and ſaid, He was ſure the King wou'd not preſs him upon a thing ſo much againſt all Honour, as to betray Men that profeſs'd to be his Friends. I gave his Majeſty an Account of all that paſs'd between the Prince and me, which was thought at Court both cold to His Majeſty, and ſtiff as to the Peace; and I had no Returns or Orders upon it; but within a Week or Ten Days I had Notice, that my Lord ARLINGTON and my Lord OSSORY intended to make a Turn into *Holland*, with Monſieur ODYKE and his Two Siſters, to make a Viſit to their Friends at the *Hague*; and about the Beginning of *December* they arriv'd in the King's Yachts, but without any Sort of Character, or Show of Buſineſs.

MY Lord ARLINGTON brought me a Letter from the King, written all with his own Hand; and telling me he had ſent him to ſet right ſome important Points between His Majeſty and the Prince which ought not to lie longer in doubt, recommending to me all the Aſſiſtance I cou'd give him, and aſſuring me of His Majeſty's Confidence and Kindneſs. His Lordſhip brought the moſt ample Credential likewiſe that cou'd be from His Majeſty to the Prince, who ſtill gave me Part of all that paſs'd between them, with as much Openneſs and Freedom, as t'other did with Coldneſs and Reſerve; and thereby lent me many Lights that I cou'd not otherwiſe have had, to diſcover the Myſtery of this Journey and Affair, which was in great Part a Secret to my Lord Treaſurer himſelf, whom yet His Majeſty was thought to truſt at that Time as much as he had ever done any of his Miniſters.

MY Lord ARLINGTON, who had been at the Head of thoſe Meaſures that the King entred into during the Miniſtry of the Cabal, and the War with *Holland*, in Conjunction with *France*, found himſelf ſomething diſcredited with his Maſter upon the ill Iſſue of that Affair, and the Neceſſities which forc'd him to a Separate Peace, both from the Wants of his Treaſury, and Diſcontents of his Parliament and People in general. By the Degrees this Lord's Favour declin'd, the Earl of DANBY's encreas'd, who ſucceeded my Lord CLIFFORD in the Treaſury, which had ever been my Lord ARLINGTON's Ambition. This gave him an implacable Envy and Hatred againſt my Lord DANBY, which no Offices of Friends cou'd ever allay. He was not well with the Nation for having had ſuch a Part in breaking the Courſe of the Triple Alliance, and making that with *France*, for the Ruine of *Holland*, and, as was commonly thought, for ſome Ends more diſpleaſing at Home. Yet when the ill Humour of the Parliament had broken the Deſigns of the Cabal, and made my Lord SHAFTSBURY ſhift his Sails and fall into the popular Stream, my Lord ARLINGTON had gone ſo far upon the ſame Scent, as to joyn with the Duke of ORMOND and Secretary COVENTRY to perſwade the King to remove the Duke wholly from Court and publick Buſineſs, as a Means to appeaſe the Diſcontents of the Parliament, upon ſome Jealouſies the late Conduct of Affairs had rais'd among them. By this Counſel my Lord ARLINGTON had very much offended the Duke; and finding himſelf ill with His Royal Highneſs, with the Parliament, and every Day declining in Credit with the King, he thought there was no Way of retrieving his Game, but by making himſelf the Inſtrument of ſome ſecret and cloſe Meaſures that might be taken between the King and the Prince of ORANGE. He firſt infus'd into His Majeſty the Neceſſity and Advantage of ſuch a Negotiation, and then that of his being employ'd in it, from the Intereſt his Lady's Friends and Kindred in *Holland* wou'd be able to give him, as well as from the Credit of having been ſo long in the Secret of the King's Affairs, and ſo beſt able to give them ſuch Colours as might render the late Conduct of them leſs diſagreeable to the Prince. Tho' he profeſt great Friendſhip to me, yet he repreſented me as unlikely to be treated with ſuch a Confidence from the Prince as was requiſite in this Affair, for having been ſo intimate with Monſieur DE WIT in my former Ambaſſy; and gave the Prince's Unwillingneſs to ſee me during the Campaign, as a Teſtimony of his Diſlike, or at leaſt Indifferency to me. He propos'd going over with all the Auxiliaries that were like to be of any Succour in this Expedition, carrying not only my Lady ARLINGTON, but Madam BEVERWAERT her Siſter, who had ſomething in her Humour and Converſation very agreeable to the Prince; Sir GABRIEL SYLVIUS, who took himſelf to be in great Credit in that Court, where he had ſerv'd long, and particularly with Monſieur BENTINCK: Nor was it forgot to carry over Dr. DUREL, as a Man fit to practice Monſieur DE MAREST a *French* Miniſter, who was thought to have Credit with the Prince; and my Lord OSSORY was known to have a great Part in his Kindneſs and Eſteem, as well from his Marriage into the BEVERWAERT Family, as from his Bravery ſo much applauded in all Actions where he had been, which was a Quality lov'd by the Prince, tho' employ'd againſt him.

MY Lord DANBY had been made to believe, that a Letter from the Prince to Monſieur ODYKE, then one of the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors in *England*, had given Occaſion for this Journey, as if the Prince had deſir'd ſome Perſon there from the King, with whom he might enter into the laſt Confidence; but the Prince aſſur'd me there was no ſuch thing, and that Monſieur DE RUVIGNY, the *French* Miniſter at *London*, had more Part in this Journey than he, or perhaps any Body elſe; and that all the Endeavours us'd towards a Peace came from that Side.

HOWEVER inſtructed, at leaſt thus accompanied, my Lord ARLINGTON came to the *Hague*; where he told me at our firſt Meeting, that he came over to ſet right ſome things between the King and the Prince that he doubted were amiſs, and to ſettle a perfect Kindneſs and Confidence between them for the Time to come: That to do this he muſt go to the Bottom of the Sore, and rake into things paſt, which was an unpleaſant Work, and which I cou'd not do, as having no Part in the King's Buſineſs during that Time wherein the Prince took his Offence at our Counſels: That the King had choſen him for this Office, becauſe he cou'd beſt juſtify His Majeſty's Intentions towards His Highneſs in the whole Courſe of that Affair:

fair: That for the Peace, tho' His Majeſty deſir'd it, yet he wou'd not meddle in it, unleſs the Prince of himſelf made any Overtures about it; but wou'd only endeavour to give the Prince what Lights he cou'd as to the State of things in general, and what he might hope from his Allies, as well as from *France*: That if the Prince made no Advances to him upon it, he wou'd let it fall, and leave it in my Hands to be purſu'd by the Orders I ſhou'd receive: That he knew very well ſuch a Commiſſion as his might look unkind, if not injurious, to another Ambaſſador, and that he wou'd not have come if any other had been here; but the King, as well as he, reckon'd ſo far upon the Friendſhip between us, that they were both confident of my being eaſy in it, and giving him any Aſſiſtance he ſhou'd want from me, which he wou'd acquaint me with as the Matter proceeded. He ſaid beſides, That after having fought the King's Battel with the Prince, he muſt fight another of his own, who did not deſerve the Coldneſs His Highneſs had of late expreſs'd to him; and when this was done, all his Buſineſs was ended here, and the reſt wou'd be only ſeeing his Friends, and finding ſome Diverſions from a new Scene: That he deſir'd I wou'd, according to the Forms, bring him and my Lord OSSORY the firſt Time to the Prince, and after that they wou'd ſee him no more in Ceremony, nor give me that Trouble.

I told his Lordſhip I was very glad to ſee him, let his Buſineſs be what it wou'd: That I ſhou'd be gladder yet that the King's Buſineſs ſhou'd be done, let it be by whom it wou'd, but much more that it might be by him: That for ſetting Matters right between the King and the Prince, I thought it the beſt Office cou'd be done them both: That for the Way he mention'd of raking into the Sore, and fighting Battels in Defence or Juſtification of what was paſt, I knew not what to ſay to it, but wou'd leave it to his own Prudence; but from what I knew in particular of the Prince's Humour and Thoughts, whatever he did of that Sort, I believ'd ſhou'd be very gentle, and not go too deep; and for my own Part was always of Opinion, That *Expoſtulations were very apt to end well between Lovers, but ill between Friends*: That I wou'd ſend to the Prince for an Hour; and when I had brought him to His Highneſs, I wou'd leave him there after the firſt Entrances were paſt, and deſir'd no other Part in this Affair than what he thought neceſſary to give me; whenever he did, I ſhou'd ſerve him the beſt I cou'd in ſo good an Endeavour; and for the reſt, I ſhou'd leave the Field free to my Lord OSSORY and him, while they ſtaid at the *Hague*, as to all that was Secret: As to the reſt, I deſir'd they wou'd make what Uſe they pleas'd of me and my Houſe.

MY Lord ARLINGTON took all I ſaid very well; ſaid, 'Twas not neceſſary I ſhou'd leave them after I had introduc'd them to the Prince, but in ſuch a Manner as I ſaw he wou'd not diſlike it, or have any Body thought to have any Part in the Succeſſes he expected: So next Morning I brought them to the Prince, and after a Quarter of an Hour's Stay left them together. The Prince wou'd have had me ſtay, but my Lord ARLINGTON ſaid not a Word; and I pretended ſome Letters preſs'd me, and ſo went away, and never ſaw them together any more while they ſtaid at the *Hague*, unleſs at Dinner, or in mix'd and publick Company.

THE Truth is, I was not the worſe entertain'd during the Courſe of this Adventure; for my Lord ARLINGTON told me every Day what he thought fit of all that paſs'd between them; and the Prince told me not only the Thing, but the Manner of it, which was more important than the Matter it ſelf; for this had no Effect, but the other a great deal, and that laſted long. My Lord ARLINGTON told me much of his Expoſtulations, and with what good Turns of Wit he had juſtify'd both the King's Part in the late War, and his own; but that upon all he found the Prince dry and ſullen, or at the beſt uneaſy, and as if he wiſh'd it ended: That upon Diſcourſe of the State of *Chriſtendom*, and what related to the War he was engag'd in, he made him no Overtures at all, nor entred further, Than that the King might bring him out of it with Honour if he pleas'd, and with Safety to *Chriſtendom*; if not, it muſt go on 'till the Fortunes of the Parties changing, made Way for other Thoughts than he believ'd either of them had at this Time: That this might happen after another Campaign, which none but His Majeſty cou'd prevent, by inducing *France* to ſuch Terms as he thought juſt and ſafe for the reſt of *Chriſtendom*.

THIS was the Sum of what my Lord ARLINGTON pretended to have paſs'd in Three long Conferences; after which it grew ſo uneaſy between them, that he told me he had abſolutely given it over, and wou'd not ſay a Word more of Buſineſs while he was there, and attended His Majeſty's Orders after the Return of his Diſpatches; but wou'd divert himſelf in the mean Time as well as he cou'd, ſee the Prince as often as he pleas'd at Dinner, or in Company, but aſk it no more in private, unleſs the Prince of himſelf deſir'd it; and upon the Whole, gave all the Signs of being equally diſappointed and diſcontented with the Succeſs of this Undertaking.

THE Prince, on the other Side, told me with what Arrogance and Inſolence my Lord ARLINGTON had entred upon all his Expoſtulations with him, both upon the

King's Chapter and his own: That it was not only in the Diſcourſes of it, as if he pretended to deal with a Child, that he cou'd by his Wit make believe what he pleas'd; but in the Manner he ſaid all upon that Subject, it was as if he had taken himſelf for the Prince of ORANGE, and him for my Lord ARLINGTON: That all he ſaid was ſo artificial, and giving ſuch falſe Colours to things every Body knew, that he that was a plain Man cou'd not bear it, and was never ſo weary of any Converſation in his Life. In ſhort, all the Prince told me upon it look'd ſpighted at my Lord ARLINGTON, and not very much ſatisfy'd with the King's Intentions upon this Errand; tho' he ſaid he was ſure His Majeſty never intended he ſhou'd treat it in the Manner he had, if he remembred that he was his Nephew, tho' nothing elſe.

AFTER the firſt Converſations, my Lord ARLINGTON ſtaid near Six Weeks in *Holland*, either upon contrary Winds to return his Diſpatches, or to carry him away, often at Dinner with the Prince at Court, or at Count WALDECK's, or Monſieur ODYKE's, or with me, putting on the beſt Humour and Countenance, affecting the Figure of one that had nothing of Buſineſs in his Head, or in the Deſign of this Journey, but at Heart weary of his Stay in *Holland*, and unwilling to return with no better Account of his Errand; and, as it prov'd, he had Reaſon for both.

I found the Penſioner and Count WALDECK thought, That the Bent of my Lord ARLINGTON was to draw the Prince into ſuch Meaſures of a Peace as *France* then ſo much deſir'd; into a Diſcovery of thoſe Perſons who had made Advances to the Prince or the States of raiſing Commotions in *England* during the late War; into ſecret Meaſures with the King of aſſiſting him againſt any Rebels at home, as well as Enemies abroad; and into the Hopes or Deſigns of a Match with the Duke's Eldeſt Daughter: Tho' they ſaid he found the Prince wou'd not enter at all into the Firſt, was obſtinate againſt the Second, treated the Third as a Diſreſpect to the King, to think he cou'd be ſo ill belov'd, or ſo imprudent, to need it; and upon Mention made of the laſt by my Lord OSSORY, he took no further hold of it than ſaying, *His Fortunes were not in a Condition for him to think of a Wife.*

THUS ended this Myſtical Journey, which I have the rather unveil'd, becauſe, perhaps, no other cou'd do it; nor I, without ſo many ſeveral Lights from ſo many ſeveral Hands; and becauſe, tho' it brought forth no preſent Fruits, yet Seeds were then ſcatter'd, out of which ſprung afterwards ſome very great Events.

MY Lord ARLINGTON return'd, was receiv'd but coldly by the King, and ill by the Duke, who was angry that any Mention had been made of the Lady MARY, tho' it was done only by my Lord OSSORY, and whether with Order from the King or not, was not known: So as never any Strain of Court-skill and Contrivance ſucceeded ſo unfortunately as this had done, and ſo contrary to all the Ends the Author of it propos'd to himſelf. Inſtead of advancing the Peace, he left it deſperate; inſtead of eſtabliſhing a Confidence between the King and the Prince, he left all colder than he found it; inſtead of entring into great Perſonal Confidence and Friendſhip with the Prince, he left an Unkindneſs that laſted ever after; inſtead of retrieving his own Credit at Court, which he found waining upon the Increaſe of my Lord DANBY's, he made an End of all he had left with the King, who never after us'd him with any Confidence further than the Forms of his Place; and found my Lord Treaſurer's Credit with the King more advanc'd in Six Weeks he had been away, than it had done in many Months before.

WHATEVER was the Occaſion, *France* had this Winter an extreme deſire of a Peace; and left no way unattempted to obtain it, that might not too much diſcover the need they had of it. I ſuppoſe they might apprehend what the Confederates reckon'd upon, with perhaps too much Aſſurance, That if they cou'd gain one Battel, they ſhou'd certainly enter *France*; and if ever they did, the ill Humours grown under this late Government wou'd certainly break out, and make Way for all the Succeſſes and Ravages they propos'd to themſelves; or, at leaſt, for ſuch Terms of a Peace as wou'd leave all the Neighbours of that Crown in Safety and Quiet. A Talk was ſet on foot of a Marriage between MONSIEUR's eldeſt Daughter and the King of *Spain*, in the Heat of the War: A Suſpenſion of Arms was propos'd at *Vienna* by Count OXENSTIERN the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador; and the ſending Plenipotentiaries immediately after to treat the Peace, with Offers, in caſe this were agreed to, that the Affair of Prince WILLIAM of FURSTEMBURG ſhou'd be reſpited till the End of the Treaty, and Paſsports ſhou'd be granted for the Duke of LORRAIN's Miniſters, upon which Difficulties had been made: Practices were us'd with the Princes of BRANDENBURG and LUNENBURG, to disjoin them from the Common Alliance: And a particular Intelligence was held between the Marſhal D'ESTRADES and one who had been Penſioner of *Maeſtricht*, who communicated all his Letters to the Penſioner FAGEL: But the Sum of all, was Inſtances for a Separate Peace between *France* and *Holland*; a Breach of their Meaſures with the Houſe of AUSTRIA, and Return of the old ones with *France*, towards which they offer'd all the Advantages that cou'd be to the States in Point of Commerce, and all the Perſonal ones that cou'd be deſir'd by a Prince of ORANGE.

BUT the Prince was unmoveable in the Point of not leaving his Allies; tho' he began to foreſee he was like to play a hard Game with them next Summer in the Field, and perhaps a harder with the People at Home, who grew impatient for a Peace, both upon the cruel Taxes the War had rais'd, and upon the preſent Decay of Trade, as well as Apprehenſion, that with longer Continuance of the War, it wou'd run ſo far into a new Channel by *England* as never to be retriev'd. Upon theſe Conſiderations the Prince reſolv'd to make one Effort towards a Peace with Honour before this Seaſon ended, and made all further Thoughts of it give Way to the Actions of the approaching Campaign. His Scheme was this; That a Match ſhou'd be made between the King of *Spain* and MADEMOISELLE: That *France* ſhou'd give with her in Dowry the late conquer'd Places in *Flanders*: That the King ſhou'd make this Match, and upon theſe Terms; And that he ſhou'd have Two hundred Thouſand Pounds for his good Offices in it. By this Means a Peace wou'd be made with Safety to *Spain* and to *Holland*, by ſecuring again the Frontiers

tiers of *Flanders*; with Honour to *France*, who parted with the conquer'd Towns only as Dowry to a Daughter of *France*; without any Blemiſh to the Prince's Honour or Faith in his Alliances; and with Honour and Profit both to His Majeſty, which laſt was thought no unwelcome Circumſtance at that Time in our Court.

THIS the Prince and Penſioner having digeſted the beſt Way they cou'd, and deduc'd to me, deſir'd me to propoſe to the King; as the only Way of making the Peace he ſo much deſir'd; as a thing they were ſure he cou'd do, and that *France* cou'd not deny him if he wou'd preſs it; and as the laſt Degree of Favour His Majeſty cou'd expreſs to the Prince, who cou'd no other Way come out of this War with Honour. They deſir'd me to write it to the King himſelf, and that nothing might be ſaid of it to any other Perſon, 'till His Majeſty ſhou'd return me His Opinion upon it.

I did ſo by Two Letters to the King, but had no Hopes given me that it wou'd be effected: Whether *France* took the Deſires of the Prince for an Argument of his being weary of the War, or that he found the People were ſo; or whether they wou'd not end the War, without breaking the Force and Confidence of the preſent Alliance, or (as the Prince thought) without leaving *Flanders* open for another Invaſion, when ſome better

Conjuncture ſhou'd make Way for it; or whether the Revolt of *Meſſina* had given them Hopes of diſabling *Spain*, by drawing their Forces on that Side, and diſpoſing them to a Peace by this Wound in a Part ſo tender, and that might ſpread ſo far into *Italy*; or whether they had now abſolutely engag'd the Crown of *Sweden* to enter into the War, and believ'd that by the Impreſſion that Crown wou'd make in *Pomerania*, they might not only recall the Duke of BRANDENBURG and his Forces from the *Rhine*, but if they ſucceeded, might ſo allarm the Empire on that Side, as to break, or very much weaken any Conjunction of their Forces next Summer on this Side of the *Rhine*. However it was, this Attempt of the Prince fail'd, and ſo all further Thoughts of a preſent Peace ended, and left me only to purſue the cold Scent of a Mediation in the common Forms, while the Preparations were making on all Sides for a warm Summer in the Field.

THE Prince this *February* went into *Gelderland*, to eſtabliſh the new Magiſtracy there, according to his Office of Stadtholder. Whilſt he was there, the Deputies of that Province, by unanimous Conſent, made him an Offer of the Sovereignty of that Country, with the Antient Title of *Duke of* GELDERLAND, which they pretended had been formerly in ſome of his Anceſtors. The Prince ſaid, *He wou'd give them no Anſwer upon an*

Affair of ſuch Moment, without firſt adviſing with the other Provinces. He immediately writ to thoſe of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht*, to communicate this Offer to them, and demand their Advice upon it. *Zealand* return'd theirs againſt his accepting it; grounding it upon the Jealouſies it might raiſe in the other Provinces, and Inconſiſtence of it with the Conſtitutions of their Union, which left none of the Provinces at Liberty to diſpoſe of their Sovereignty without Conſent of the reſt. *Utrecht* return'd their Anſwer with Advice to accept it. *Holland* was longer, depending upon the Delays neceſſary in running the Circle of ſo many Towns: So that before it was concluded, the Prince, upon receiving the Advice of *Utrecht*, return'd them immediately his Anſwer, with Notice, That he had excus'd himſelf to the States of *Gelderland*, from accepting the Offer they had made him.

NOTHING cou'd more imploy the buſy Heads of this Time, than the Courſe of this Affair; ſome attributing it to the Ambition of the Prince, and preſaging the ſame Deſign upon the reſt of the Provinces; others laying it to the Charge of ſome of his young Councellors; others to a Deſign of ſounding the Humour of the Provinces, and of having the Honour to refuſe it, after they ſhou'd all have adviſ'd him to accept it, as 'twas believ'd they wou'd do. For my own Part, I can ſay nothing of it with Certainty, having never ſeen the Prince while it was upon the Anvil, nor diſcours'd with him upon this Subject either before or after: But if it were an Ambition bent upon the Sovereignty of the reſt of the Provinces, as well as *Gelderland*, it was a Deſign very different from all his Proceedings in the Courſe of the War, when *France* had propos'd it to him with all the Advantages and Support that cou'd be; and as different from what he had ever ſeem'd to underſtand, and to be as much perſwaded of as any Man, That a Sovereign Prince in *Holland* wou'd certainly and ſoon ruine the Trade, and conſequently the Riches and Greatneſs of that State, and leave a Prince of it without Power or Conſideration in the World; whereas the Princes of ORANGE, in the Poſt they have held for Four Generations, have entred into Wars and Treaties with a Regard and Weight equal to moſt of the Kings of *Chriſtendom*. For young Councellors that were thought to have engag'd the Prince in this Adventure, I cannot ſpeak with more Certainty than of the Intention; but I am ſure if they were in it, they were not alone; for none doubts of Monſieur FAGEL's having been for it; and Monſieur BEVERNING, who was ever thought as ſtanch a Patriot as any Man among them, told me himſelf, that he had adviſ'd the Prince to accept it; which I believe he wou'd not have done, if he had foreſeen any Danger

ger from it to his Country. But whether the Prince or his Friends had the Part that was commonly thought in the firſt Overture, 'tis certain an Intereſt of the Deputies and Magiſtrates, as well as Nobles of *Gelderland*, had a Share in it too. For whereas this is the firſt Province in the Union, and abounds with Nobles more than all the reſt; yet, by reaſon of their Poverty from a barren Soil, and want of Trade, they are leſs conſider'd than ſeveral other Provinces, and their Voice has been in a Manner ſwallow'd up by that of *Holland*, who, by their Trade and Riches, have a great Influence upon thoſe of *Gelderland*. The Deputies of this Province finding themſelves yet leſs conſiderable in the Union than they were before the War, which had extreamly impoveriſh'd their Country during the *French* Conqueſts, thought there was no Way of recovering ſuch a Conſideration in the State, as ſuited with the Rank and Dignity they held, but devolving the Sovereignty of their Province upon the Prince of ORANGE. Beſides, many of the Nobles there having Pretences for themſelves or their Friends in the Military Imployments, thought to make their Court to the Prince, upon whom thoſe Charges depended, by advancing ſuch a Propoſition: And this was certainly a great Ingredient into the firſt Conception of it; but whether conniv'd at, or ſeconded by the Prince, or his Friends, or with what Aims or Inſtructions, I cannot ſay; and ſo leave it as a Muſhroom that grew up ſuddenly, and as ſuddenly wither'd, and left no Sign where it had grown.

AT the Prince's Return to the *Hague* in *March* 1675, I receiv'd a Letter from His Majeſty's own Hand, telling me of ſome Advices given him, That the Prince intended to come over into *England* againſt the approaching Seſſion of Parliament, and commanding me to hinder it, as if His Majeſty believ'd the thing. I adventur'd to aſſure the King there cou'd be nothing in it, before I ſaw the Prince; but when I did, I pretended not to have had it from His Majeſty, but that I heard ſuch a thing had been whiſper'd to him. He ſaid, Yes, and he believ'd by Lord ARLINGTON, who had ſometimes talk'd of that Journey after the Peace ſhou'd be made; however it came, he was ſorry the King ſhou'd believe it: That he was His Majeſty's Servant, and if he cou'd do him no Service, he wou'd at leaſt do him no Harm: But if the King wou'd be otherwiſe poſſeſt, he cou'd not help it; yet he deſir'd me to aſſure him, there had never been any Ground for ſuch a Report. In the Afternoon the Prince came to me, and told me in great Heat, he had, ſince he ſaw me, receiv'd the moſt impertinent Letter from Lord ARLINGTON that ever was upon that Subject, treating it as a Reſolution certain and intended for raiſing Heats in the Parliament, and Commotions in the Kingdom; telling him, 'Twas like to prove but an ill Friendſhip between the King and him, if it was to be made, *A coup de bâtons* [*With Blows*]; and putting him in Mind, *Qu'il y a des playes chez vous, qui ſaigneront encore ſi l'on y met la main*, [*That there are ſome Wounds among you, which will bleed afreſh if they be but touch'd*]. The Prince ſaid he knew well enough what Lord ARLINGTON meant by that Expreſſion, for he had told Monſieur *Van* RHEEDE in *England*, when he went over upon the firſt Motions of the laſt Peace, That the King cou'd make the Prince be ſerv'd as DE WIT was, if he wou'd ſet himſelf about it. Upon this he fell into the greateſt Rage that ever I ſaw him, againſt my Lord ARLINGTON, calling this Proceeding malicious and inſolent, ſaying, He wou'd write to him what he deſerv'd, but never have any thing more to do with him beyond common Forms: That ſince he knew not how to truſt the King's Miniſters, he wou'd write to the King himſelf, and deſir'd me to convey his Letters ſo as they might come to no other Hand.

SOON after, Count WALDECK went to *Vienna* to concert the Actions of the next Campaign, where Count MONTECUCULI was appointed to command the Imperial Forces inſtead of the Duke DE BOURNONVILLE; and the Count DE SOUCHES was ſent away into a Government in *Hungary*. In *March* the Elector of BRANDENBURG came to *Cleves* upon the ſame Concert, where he was met by the Prince of ORANGE, and the Marqueſs DE GRANA the Emperor's Miniſter: But the main Point debated here, was thought to be the Defence neceſſary to be made in *Pomerania* againſt the *Swede*, who began now to throw off the Mask, to ravage the Country, and to attack ſome Places neceſſary for their Quarters. The Money likewiſe paid that Court from *France* at *Hamburg* had been ſo publick and ſo avow'd, that none further doubted of a ſudden and open Rupture from that Crown. Whereupon the States ſent to Monſieur EHERNSTEIN, (then *Swediſh* Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, and who wou'd have kept ſtill the Figure of a Mediator,) to put in no more Memorials to the States upon that Occaſion; ſince they cou'd not receive them from a Miniſter, whoſe Prince had openly, and without Cauſe, attack'd one of their Allies.

AT this Time arriv'd an Ambaſſador from *Denmark* at the *Hague*, to try what Advantages his Maſter cou'd make of this preſent Conjuncture, by Terms of entring into the Alliance againſt *France* and *Sweden*. And all things being thus in the higheſt Fermentation, a ſudden Damp fell upon the whole Maſs of theſe great Affairs by the Sickneſs of the Prince of ORANGE; which ſhew'd him to be the Spring that gave Motion to all the other Wheels; for while his Illneſs laſted, and the Event was doubtful, all was in ſuſpence, and none of the Parties engag'd ſeem'd to have other Motions or Sentiments than what were rais'd by the Hopes or Fears of ſo important a Life. After ſome Days Feaver it prov'd the Small-Pox, which had been very fatal in his Family, and gave the greater Apprehenſions to his Friends, and his Country, who expreſs'd indeed a ſtrange Concernment upon this Occaſion, by a perpetual Concourſe of People to enquire after every Minute's Progreſs of his Illneſs. Whilſt it laſted, he had taken a Fancy hardly to eat or drink any thing but what came from my Houſe, which the People after took Notice of as it paſs'd; and tho' perhaps few Foreigners have had the Luck to be better thought of or us'd in a ſtrange Country, than we had ever been in *Holland*; yet ſeveral of our *Dutch* Friends told us, That in caſe any thing fatal happen'd to the Prince from this Diſeaſe, they believ'd the People wou'd pull down our Houſes, and tear us all in Pieces, upon knowing what he took in his Sickneſs came from our Hands. God be thank'd all paſs'd without any bad Accident, tho' ill Symptoms at firſt; and his Recovery, next to the Bleſſing of God, was owing to the great Evenneſs of his Temper, and Conſtancy of Mind, which gave Way to no Impreſſions or Imaginations that uſe to be of ſo ill conſequence in that Diſeaſe; ſo that it paſs'd in the common forms, and within Twenty Days he was abroad, and fell into the preſent Buſineſs of the Scene, among which the Preparations for the Campaign was the chief.

I cannot here forbear to give Monſieur BENTINCK the Character due to him, of the beſt Servant I have ever known in Prince's or private Family. He tended his Maſter, during the whole courſe of his Diſeaſe, both Night and Day; nothing he took was given him, nor he ever remov'd in his Bed, by any other hand; and the Prince told me, that whether he ſlept or not he could not tell, but in Sixteen Days and Nights, he never call'd once that he was not anſwer'd by Monſieur BENTINCK, as if he had been awake. The firſt Time the Prince was well enough to have his Head open'd and comb'd, Monſieur BENTINCK, as ſoon as it was done, begg'd of his Maſter to give him leave to go home, for he was able to hold up no longer; He did ſo, and fell immediately Sick of the ſame Diſeaſe, and in great Extremity; but recover'd juſt ſoon enough to attend his Maſter into the Field, where he was ever next his Perſon.

THE Campaign happen'd to begin later than it us'd to do on the *French* ſide; both from the Expectation what the Prince's Sickneſs would end in, and from ſome Commotions ſucceeding one another about this Time in *Guyenne* and *Brittany*, upon Occaſion of the Impoſts or Gabels, which drew ſome of the *French* Forces into thoſe Parts. But when thoſe Troubles were ended, as they were by an unuſual ſtrain of Lenity and Clemency in compoſing them, all imaginable endeavours were us'd to prepare in *France* for the Campaign: The King intended to Attack *Flanders* in the Head of all the choice of his Forces, and with the greateſt Vigour and Impreſſion he could make this Year upon the *Spaniſh* Netherlands; yet the King pretended to be but a Volunteer in the Army, of which he declar'd the Prince of CONDE General, whether to put the greateſt Compliment he could on ſo great Merit, or to hinder his Brother from making difficulty of Acting under that Prince's Orders. And Monſieur DE TURENNE was to be employ'd in *Alſace*, to attend and amuſe as much as he could the *German* Army, for fear of giving the King too much Diverſion in *Flanders*: and this with Orders to Act by concert with Count WRANGEL, General of the *Swediſh* Forces in *Pomerania*, who gave hopes of Marching ſo far into *Germany* as to concert his Actions, or at leaſt Motions with thoſe of Monſieur DE TURENNE. On the other ſide, the Confederates were as buſy in their proviſions againſt theſe deſigns. The Elector of MENTZ was drawn to throw off the remainders of his Neutrality, and to receive the Imperial Troops into his Towns, as *Strasburg* had done; and Practiſes were ſet on foot to change the Temper of the Court of *Bavaria*, with hopes of Succeſs. MONTECUCULI prepar'd to come down into *Alſace* with the Army of the Emperor and the adjoyning Circles; and the Elector of BRANDENBURG came to the *Hague* after the Prince of ORANGE's Illneſs, where Treaties were concluded with the King of DENMARK's Miniſters, and renew'd with the Duke of LUNENBURG. After which the Elector went immediately away to the relief of his own Subjects and Countrey, then invaded and ſpoil'd by the open hoſtility of the *Swediſh* Forces. Whilſt he was at the *Hague*, the Compliments paſs'd in form between us, but without viſit or interview, tho' the Elector deſir'd and purſu'd it with more inſtance than I well underſtood: For he ſent his Miniſter at the *Hague* firſt to me, and afterwards engag'd the Prince himſelf to endeavour it, by finding ſome Expedient in the Difficulties of Ceremony, or elſe by propoſing a third Place. But the *French* Ambaſſadors having taken up a form of refuſing to viſit any Elector, unleſs they might have the hand given them in thoſe Princes Houſes, and the Electors having never conſented to it, I told the Prince I could not go lower than the *French* Ambaſſadors did, in that or any other point; and that meeting in a third Place would look like a ſort of approving the refuſal made by the Electors: And ſo I never ſaw this Prince during his Stay at the *Hague*; much to my Regret, becauſe I had been poſſeſs'd of many qualities very eſtimable in him.

IN the mean Time, how uſeleſs ſoever for the preſent, yet the forms of His Majeſty's Mediation went on. After it had been accepted by all Parties, the firſt Point that came to be conſider'd was the Place of Treaty; about which, the *Swedes* could not ſurmount the difficulties during the courſe of their Mediation. The Houſe of *Auſtria* propos'd to have the Congreſs in ſome of the free Towns of the Empire, as *Francfort*, *Hamburg*, *Straſburg*, and ſome others: *France* refus'd ever to come into any Town of the Empire, upon the Inſults they receiv'd and complain'd of ſo much, at *Cologne*, in the ſeiſure of Prince WILLIAM of FURSTEMBURG, and a great Sum of the *French* Money there; but offer'd at the ſame Time to come and Treat at *Breda*, tho' belonging to one of the Parties engag'd in the War, which they would make paſs for a great condeſcention, and Teſtimony of that King's inclination to a Peace.

The Confederates on the other ſide would not hear of *Breda*: They took that propoſition as an artifice, firſt, to ingratiate with the States beyond the reſt of their Allies; but next, which was the point of importance, they look'd upon it as deſign'd to carry on either a ſeparate Treaty with the States, or at leaſt Private Meaſures and Correſpondencies with ſeveral Towns and Perſons of thoſe Provinces, ſo as to induce, or force the State at laſt into a ſeparate Treaty with *France*, upon the difficulties or delays that might ariſe in a General one. And upon this point the Allies were ſo jealous, that the States Deputies of the Foreign Committee, who manag'd all theſe Affairs in the firſt reſort, thought it neceſſary to ſeem as averſe againſt Treating in any of their Dominions, as any of the Allies. Thus all Places in *Germany*, *France*, and the Low-Countries, ſeem'd abſolutely excluded by one part or other; and *London* was diſlik'd by all, as too remote, and of difficult and uncertain Commerce for Letters, by Reaſon of the Sea. After much perplexity upon this Subject in many Conferences I had with the Deputies, and Diſcourſes with the Penſioner, I propos'd two Places as the only I could think of left for any attempt, upon all Circumſtances. The firſt was *Cleves*, which could not be ſaid to belong to the Empire, but to the Elector of BRANDENBURG, as Duke of *Cleves*, and not as a Prince of the Empire. The other was *Nimeguen*, as being the laſt Town belonging to the States, and upon the Borders of *Germany*. Both Towns capable of ſuch a reception as was neceſſary; both in good Air, and eaſie of acceſs from all Parts; center'd ter'd between *Spain* and *Sweden*, between the *Empire* and *France*, and near *England*, where the Spring of this Treaty was conceiv'd to be. I thought *France* might not diſlike *Cleves*, even upon thoſe Regards the Allies ſuſpected of the Vicinity to the States; and the Confederates cou'd not except againſt it, as belonging to one of them. On the other Side, if the Allies approv'd *Cleves*, and *France* ſhou'd refuſe it; yet they cou'd not afterwards diſapprove of *Nimeguen*, which was but Three Leagues nearer the *Hague* or *Amſterdam*, (where they ſuſpected the *French* Practices,) and disjoin'd from both by neceſſary Paſſage of great Rivers, which made the Commerce more difficult and ſlow than it wou'd be from other Towns of the States Dominions. Another Reaſon was, That I knew no other to name that did not ſeem previouſly excluded: And upon this the Deputies conſented that I ſhou'd propoſe both to the King, that he might do the ſame to all the Parties; but that I ſhou'd begin with *Cleves*, which I did.

THIS *France* refus'd, upon Pretence of ſome Dependance upon the Empire; but, as was thought, upon Picque to the Duke of BRANDENBURG, with whom they were more offended at this Time than with any of the Allies. After this Refuſal, *Nimeguen* being advanc'd, *France* firſt accepted it; and afterwards the Allies, who cou'd not well refuſe it, after having expreſs'd they wou'd have been ſatisfy'd with *Cleves*: And ſo this Place came to be fix'd for the Scene of this Negotiation.

BUT at the ſame Time that *France* accepted the Place of Treaty, they declar'd, That they wou'd not however ſend any Ambaſſadors thither, 'till the Emperor had given them Satisfaction upon the Two Points ſo long inſiſted on, of *Prince* WILLIAM *of* FURSTEMBURG's *Liberty*, and *Reſtitution of the Money ſeiz'd at* Cologne; which were Points had been hitherto as obſtinately refus'd at *Vienna*, as demanded by *France*: So as theſe Paces towards a Peace, gain'd at preſent very little Ground; but left Way for the Actions and Succeſſes of the enſuing Campaign, to determine the Times, the Methods, and Conditions of the pretended Treaty.

THE *French* began their Action by the Siege of *Limbourg*, with one Part of their Army; whilſt the King, with the reſt, lay encamp'd in a Poſt moſt convenient to oppoſe any Attempt of relieving it, to which Purpoſe the Prince was upon his March; but after a ſhort and weak Reſiſtance it was taken, before he cou'd approach it: For, beſides ſome Delays forc'd by his Sickneſs, he began here to feel the Weight that hung about him in all the Courſe of this War, from the uncertain and ſlow Marches of the *German* Horſe, and the Weakneſs and Diſorders of the *Spaniſh* Troops; which were neceſſary to make up his Army of Strength to oppoſe that of *France*, compos'd of ſuch Numbers, ſuch brave and experienc'd Troops, and under ſo great a Commander as the Prince of CONDE, and ſo gallant Officers.

AFTER the taking of *Limbourg*, the *French* and Confederate Armies in *Flanders* fell into no conſiderable Action or Attempt: Neither daring to ſit down before any Place of Strength, whilſt the other Army attended them, and was ready to relieve it; and Neither ſeeming very earneſt to come to a Battel (unleſs with evident Advantages) upon the Loſs of which ſo great Conſequences ſeem'd to depend, as the *French* entire Conqueſt of *Flanders* on one Side; or the Confederates marching directly into *France* on the other, after any great Victory. Beſides, they ſeem'd to be amus'd by the Expectation of what was likely to paſs in *Germany*, both upon the *Rhine* between the *Imperialiſts* and *French*, and in *Pomerania* between the *Swede* and BRANDENBURG; which, without new Succeſſes in the *Low Countries*, were like to decide, in a great Meaſure, the Fate of this War; whilſt the Confederates equally preſum'd of their Succeſſes in *Alſace*, and the *French* of thoſe of the *Swedes* in the North.

ABOUT the End of *July*, the King of *France*, weary of a dull Campaign, left the

Army to the Prince of CONDE, and return'd with his Court to *Verſailles*; and the ſame Month, His Majeſty ſeeing the Negotiations of the Peace laid at preſent aſleep, ſent for me to make a ſhort Turn into *England*, and give an Account of all the Obſervations I had been able to make abroad upon the preſent Diſpoſitions and Conjunctures, as well as receive his Inſtructions for the future Progreſs of his Mediation.

THE Parliament in *England*, tho' much pleas'd with the laſt Peace with *Holland*, yet were not ſo with His Majeſty's Deſires of a General one. They thought the Power of *France* too great ſince their laſt Conqueſts in *Flanders*; and their Ambition too declar'd, of atchieving it by one Means, and at one Time, or other. They were ſuſpicious of the Court's favouring too much the *French* Deſigns, by purſuing a Peace that wou'd break ſo mighty a Confederacy as was now united againſt *France*. They were jealous of the Counſels which had made the late Alliance and Kindneſs between us and *France* in the Time of the late Cabal. And beſides theſe Regards, and the common Notions of balancing the Power of our Neighbours, which were very popular; the ambitious Deſigns of private, but unquiet or aſpiring Men, fell in to augment and blow up the general ill Humours upon the more publick Accounts.

THE Lord SHAFTSBURY, impatient at his Fall from ſo great a Share of the Miniſtry, and hoping to retrieve a Game he was forc'd to give over, had run deſperately into the popular Humour, both in Parliament and City, of cenſuring the Court, exclaiming againſt our Partiality to *France*, but moſt of all againſt the Conduct of the preſent Miniſtry: And Lord ARLINGTON was ſo enrag'd at the Growth of my Lord Treaſurer's Credit upon the Fall of his own, that he fell in with the common Humour of the Parliament, in fomenting thoſe Jealouſies and Practices in the Houſe of Commons, which center'd in a Meaſure agreed among the moſt conſiderable of them, *Not to conſent to give the King any Money whilſt the preſent Lord Treaſurer continu'd.* Upon theſe Occaſions or Diſpoſitions they grew very high in purſuing the Lord LAUDERDALE, the only Remainder of the Cabal that had now any Credit left at Court; and they preſs'd the King very earneſtly to recall all the *Engliſh* Troops in the *French* Service, tho' there was a greater Number in the *Dutch*: But beſides, they fell into ſo great Diſſentions between the Two Houſes, rais'd upon punctilious Diſputes, and Deductions of their ſeveral Privileges in oppoſition to one another, that about the End of *June* the King prorogued them.

UPON my Arrival ſoon after, His Majeſty telling me the ſeveral Reaſons that had mov'd him to it, ſaid, *That he doubted much, while the War laſted abroad, it wou'd give Occaſion or Pretence for theſe Heats that had of late appear'd in the Parliament, and make him very uneaſy in his Revenue, which ſo much needed their Aſſiſtance: That ſome of the warm Leaders in both Houſes had a Mind to engage him in a War againſt* France, *which they ſhou'd not do for many Reaſons; and, among the reſt, becauſe he was ſure if they did, they wou'd leave him in it, and make uſe of it to ruine his Miniſters, and make him depend upon them more than he intended, or any King wou'd deſire. But beſides all this, he doubted an impertinent Quarrel between my Lord Treaſurer and Lord Chamberlain, did him more Diſſervice in the Parliament than I cou'd imagine: For the laſt did not care what Harm he did his Buſineſs there, ſo he cou'd hope to ruine my Lord Treaſurer; and had perſwaded a great many in the Houſe of Commons, that this wou'd certainly be compaſs'd if they were ſtanch, and declar'd in giving no Money during his Miniſtry: That he knew they were both my Friends, and therefore deſir'd I wou'd try to reconcile them while I ſtaid in* England. I endeavour'd it, but fail'd: My Lord DANBY was very inclinable, being ſo poſted as to deſire only to continue where he was, and that the King's Buſineſs might go well in his Hands; but my Lord ARLINGTON was ſo uneaſy in the Poſture he ſtood, which he attributed chiefly to my Lord Treaſurer's preſent Greatneſs, that he was untreatable upon this Subject: So when I found the Wound was too much wrankled to be cur'd, I gave it over, telling each of them, That ſince I cou'd not make them Friends, I wou'd at leaſt live with them both as if they were ſo; and deſir'd them not to expect I ſhou'd ſacrifice one Friend to another. My Lord Treaſurer was content with this Frankneſs, but Lord ARLINGTON cou'd not bear this neither, grew dry from this Time, and ſtiff in all that paſs'd between us, ſtill mingling little Reproaches or Touches of my Greatneſs with the other; and grew ſo weary of the Scene at Court, where he found himſelf left out, that he went into the Country for the reſt of the Summer.

THUS the Seeds of Diſcontents that had been ſown in the Parliament under the Counſels of the Cabal, began to ſpring faſt, and root deep, after their Power and Influence was wholly at an End; and thoſe Heats were under other Covers fomented by Two of the Chief that compos'd that Miniſtry, and with help of Time and Acccident grew to ſuch Flames as have ſince appear'd. But whatever began or increas'd them, 'tis certain theſe Agitations in *England* had great Effect upon thoſe of the War and Peace abroad: For the Confederates were confident, That the Humour of the Parliament and People wou'd at laſt engage the King in their Quarrel, which they knew wou'd force *France* to ſuch a Peace as they deſir'd; and *Spain* was ſo preſuming that *England* wou'd not ſuffer the Loſs of *Flanders*, that they grew careleſs of its Defence, or of thoſe Orders and Supplies that were neceſſary to it; truſting for the preſent to the *Dutch* to preſerve it, and to the King hereafter, whenever he ſhou'd find it more in danger. And theſe Conſiderations made the Allies leſs inclinable to a Peace, which they might have had cheaper the following Winter, than ever it fell afterwards to their Share, by Revolutions that were not foreſeen, but yet ſuch as were ſuſpected at this Time, by thoſe that knew the Weakneſs of the *Spaniards*, and Diviſions of the Imperial Court.

WHILE I ſtaid in *England*, which was about Six Weeks, the News came of a great Inſurrection in *Brittany*, which, with the Numbers and Rage it began, might have prov'd of ill Conſequence to the *French* Affairs, if it had met with a Head anſwerable to the Body; but being compos'd of a Scum of the mean People, that hated and ſpoil'd the Nobleſſe of the Province, it was by fair Means partly, and by foul, in a little Time appeas'd. The Blow, which was much more conſiderable to *France*, than the Loſs of Provinces wou'd have been, was the Death of Monſieur DE TURENNE, the News whereof came to Court about the ſame Time. This great Captain had for Three Months together kept the Imperial Army at a Bay on t'other Side the *Rhine*; reſolv'd not to fight unleſs with the greateſt Advantage, his Point being to hinder the *German* Forces from beſieging *Philipsburg*, from poſting themſelves in the Towns of *Alſace*, but chiefly from entring into *Lorrain*, or the County of *Burgundy*: All theſe he perform'd; but being preſs'd by the Imperialiſts, and ſtraitned in his Quarters, he ſuffer'd much by want of Proviſions, and found his Army diminiſh'd by Sickneſs and Deſertion, which uſe to follow that Condition. At laſt, being neceſſitated for want of Forage to force a Poſt of the Enemies that ſtraitned him moſt, a warm Skirmiſh began, and with Loſs to the *French*, who were gall'd with Two Pieces of Cannon rais'd upon an Eminence, and playing upon them with Advantage. Monſieur DE TURENNE reſolv'd to raiſe a Battery to diſmount them; and going with SAINT HILAIRE, a Lieutenant-General, to chuſe a Place the moſt convenient for it, the Two ſmall Pieces from the Imperial Side fir'd at them almoſt together; one of the Bullets wounded SAINT HILAIRE in the Shoulder; and t'other, after Two or Three Bounds upon the Ground, ſtruck Monſieur DE TURENNE upon the Breaſt, and without any apparent Wound more than the Contuſion,

ſion, laid him dead upon the Place, and by ſuch a Death as *Cæſar* us'd to wiſh for, unexpected, ſudden, and without Pain. The Aſtoniſhment was unſpeakable in the *French* Camp upon the Loſs of ſuch a General; the Preſumption as great in that of the Imperialiſts, who reckon'd upon themſelves as Maſters of the whole *French* Army, that was ſtraitned between them and the *Rhine*, in want, diſeas'd, and above all diſcourag'd by the Loſs of their Captain. All others had the ſame Expectation upon this News, but all were diſappointed; and Monſieur DE LORGES taking the Command of the Army, had the Honour of making a Retreat that was worth a Victory; and by the force of Order and Conduct, with the Bravery of the *Engliſh* Troops, who made ſuch bold Stands in ſeveral Places that they could not be broken till moſt of the Army were March'd off, he paſs'd the *Rhine* in ſight of part of the Imperial Army, and encamp'd himſelf on the other ſide in ſafety; and ſo preſerv'd it till the Prince of CONDE was ſent in haſte out of *Flanders*, with a great Enforcement, to oppoſe the Progreſs of the Imperialiſts in *Alſace*.

IN the mean Time, the Elector of BRANDENBURG drawing his Forces, with ſome Imperialiſts out of *Sileſia*, together, fell upon the *Swedes* in *Pomerania* with that Bravery and Succeſs, that he ſoon beat them out of his Part of the Country, and purſu'd them into their own. He had an Interview with the King of DENMARK, who was now entred into the Intereſts of the Confederates, reſolv'd to declare War againſt *Sweden*; and to that end took his Meaſures with the Duke of BRANDENBURG how to purſue it with the beſt advantage the reſt of the Seaſon.

WHEN the Prince of CONDE left *Flanders*, to ſucceed Monſieur DE TURENNE in *Alſace*, the Duke of LUXEMBURG commanded the Army in *Flanders*; but with Orders not to hazard a Battel, and only to obſerve the Prince of ORANGE's Motions, and to cover any Town that was like to be endanger'd; which he perform'd ſo well, that no further Action paſs'd this Summer, beſides the Prince's taking and razing of *Binch*. But to make amends for the unactiveneſs of this Campaign in *Flanders*, the Confederates by Concert on all ſides fell upon an Enterprize of great *Eclat*, and of greater Conſequence, which was the Siege of *Trier*. The Imperialiſts were bent upon it, to open a Paſſage that way into *France*, finding ſo much oppoſition in their Deſigns of it by *Alſace*: The *Spaniards* deſired it, to make way for their ſuccouring *Luxemburg* whenever it ſhould be preſs'd, which was of the laſt importance to them; The Duke of LORRAIN was violently for it, in hopes of finding a way open'd for his entrance into *Lorrain*; The Prince PALATINE thought it the beſt preparation for

Beſieging and carrying *Philipſburg*, which was the Thorn in his ſide. So as all theſe join'd part of their Troops together, with ſome of the Elector of TRIER's, and a Body of the *Lunenburg* Forces under the Dukes of ZELL and OSNABRUG, and ſat down before *Trier*.

THE Mareſchal DE CREQUI gather'd all the Forces he could out of the Neighbouring Provinces, and made up a ſtrong Army to relieve it. The Confederates left part of Theirs to maintain their Retrenchments about the Town, and March'd with the reſt againſt Monſieur DE CREQUI, paſs'd a River in his ſight, attack'd him, beat him out of the Field with great ſlaughter, many Priſoners, and ſuch a diſperſion of the reſt, that the whole Army ſeem'd to have vaniſh'd in one Day; and Monſieur DE CREQUI got into *Trier* with four or five only in Company; There he made a deſperate reſiſtance for near a Month againſt the victorious Army, with great honour and loſs among the *Engliſh* Troops that were in the Town, and without any hopes of Relief; nor would he ever capitulate, after all the Extremities he was reduc'd to by the forms of a Siege, till the Garriſon mutiny'd againſt his obſtinacy, capitulated for themſelves, and deliver'd up Monſieur DE CREQUI and moſt of the Officers Priſoners to the *Germans*. The Dukes of LUNENBURG had great honour in this

Action, and the Old Duke of LORRAIN; and indeed it was one of the moſt vigorous that ſucceeded in the whole courſe of the War, and carried the compleateſt Victory, as well as a very conſiderable Town: And the Honour of it was very much due to the Marqueſs DE GRANA, who commanded the Emperor's Forces there, and was eſteem'd to have laid the firſt Deſign, to have concerted the ſeveral parts of it, engag'd the ſeveral Parties to reſolve upon the ſame Adventure, and kept them firm in it till it was atchiev'd. The loſs of Men was very great on the *French* ſide, both in the Fight and the Siege; and added to Monſieur DE TURENNE's Death, and the Impreſſion expected upon it on that ſide from the Count DE MONTECUCULI; with the loſs of the *Swedes*; made ſo great a change in the appearance of Affairs, that his Majeſty in a Letter to me, in *September*, after my return to the *Hague*, bid me uſe it as an Argument to induce the Prince of ORANGE to be eaſie in the Buſineſs of a Peace, *That it was now Time for him to begin to apprehend again the Greatneſs of the Houſe of* Auſtria, *inſtead of that of* France. It was indeed expected, that the Imperialiſts in *Alſace* would either enter into *Lorrain*, or at leaſt would take the chief Towns of *Alſace*, and poſt themſelves ſo the following Winter, as to be ready for ſuch an Enterpriſe in the beginning of the next Spring; and the Count DE MONTECUCULI beſieg'd firſt *Haguenau*, and afterwards *Zaberne*, which were the moſt conſiderable Places, to that End. But after *Haguenau* had offer'd to Surrender upon Conditions, he roſe with his Army to fight the Prince of CONDE, who made a motion with his Army as if he intended to relieve it; but ſo order'd it, as the *Germans* fail'd both of the Battel and the Town. It was never comprehended how MONTECUCULI afterwards came to riſe of a ſudden from the Siege of *Zaberne*: Some ſaid, it was upon an expreſs Order from *Vienna* the Night before; others, With deſign of fighting the *French* Army, or beſieging *Philipſburg*; but neither happen'd: And, which was worſe than all, he ended the Campaign with paſſing back his whole Army over the *Rhine*, and leaving *Alſace* wholly in the poſſeſſion and at the Mercy of the *French* Troops. Nor have I ever known any Action of ſuch publick Concern, ſo unaccountable as this Retreat; ſince 'tis hard to ſuſpect either Corruption or Court-Faction ſhould go ſo far, tho' both were accus'd of having part in this great and almoſt deciſive Event.

The Reſentment of it was thought to have broke the old Duke of LORRAIN's Heart, who Died about this Time, and left Prince CHARLES, his Nephew, the Succeſſion to that Dutchy. No Prince had met with more Misfortunes than this Duke, nor had felt them leſs, or given greater Teſtimony of what Philoſophy teaches, That the Good or Ill of Mens Lives comes more from their Humours than their Fortunes. He was expell'd that Noble and Lovely Dutchy by the Arms of *France* in Cardinal RICHELIEU's Time; forc'd to go into the *Spaniſh* Service in *Flanders* with a Body of *Lorrainers* that would follow his Fortune whatever it was; ſtruggl'd with want of Pay to his Troops, with jealouſie and ill uſage of the *Spaniſh* Governours; was ſeiz'd and impriſon'd by that Crown; reſtor'd to a ſhatter'd poſſeſſion of *Lorrain* by the Peace of the *Pyrenees*; and in the Year 1670 forc'd to eſcape by Night, and almoſt alone, by a ſudden ſurprize of the *French* Troops, in the heighth and ſecurity of Peace: After this he never had a Home any more for the reſt of his Life, which was ſpent in ſuing for Protection and Relief from the ſeveral Princes of *Chriſtendom*, who reſented the Injuſtice of his Caſe, which none pretended to defend, but yet none to concern themſelves in it, till upon the laſt War he fell into his ſhare of the Confederacy, with the weight of two or three Thouſand *Lorrainers* that ſtill follow'd his Fortune, and enter'd into Leagues with the Emperor and moſt of the Allies for his Reſtitution. He ſeem'd not to deſerve the Fortune of a Prince, only becauſe he ſeem'd not to care for it, to hate the Conſtraints and Ceremonies that belong to it, and to value no Pleaſures in Life but the moſt natural and moſt eaſie; and while he had them, was never out of Humour for wanting the reſt; Generous to his Servants and Soldiers when he had it; and when he wanted, endeavouring to make it up by the Liberties he gave them; very much belov'd and familiar among both: And to give his Picture by a ſmall *Trait*, one of his Miniſters told me, That not long before he Died, all his Family was, a Gentleman of the Horſe (as he was call'd), another of his Chamber, and a Boy that look'd to a little Nag he us'd to ride: One Day he call'd for his Horſe; the two firſt told him, the Boy was not to be found; He bid them however get him his Horſe: They could not agree which of them ſhould go and Saddle him; till the Duke bid them go, and one or t'other of them do it, or elſe he Swore he would go down and Saddle his Horſe himſelf: They were aſham'd, and 'twas done.

ABOUT the ſame Time Died at the *Hague* the old Princeſs Dowager of ORANGE; a Woman of the moſt Wit and good Senſe, in general, that I have known; and who had thereby a great part in forming the Race of the Prince, and the mighty Improvement it receiv'd from three very extraordinary Women, as well as three ſo great Men in the laſt Deſcents. None has ſhew'd more the force of Order and Oeconomy than this Princeſs; who with ſmall Revenues, never above Twelve Thouſand Pounds a Year ſince her Husband's Death, liv'd always in as great Plenty, and more Curiouſneſs and Elegance, than is ſeen in many greater Courts. Among other pieces of Greatneſs, She was conſtantly ſerv'd all in Gold Plate, which went ſo far as to great Bottles for Water, and a great Ciſtern for Bottles, to the Key of her Cloſet, and every thing of that kind She uſually touch'd; which I mention, becauſe I think 'tis what the greateſt Kings of *Chriſtendom* have not pretended to, nor any I have heard of on this ſide *Perſia*.

IN *November* this Year, happen'd a Storm at *North-Weſt*, with a Spring-Tide, ſo violent, as gave apprehenſions of ſome loſs irrecoverable to the Province of *Holland*; and by ſeveral Breaches in the great Digues near *Enchuyſen*, and others between *Amſterdam* and *Harlem*, made way for ſuch Inundations as had not been ſeen before by any Man then alive, and fill'd the Country with many relations of moſt deplorable Events. But the incredible diligence and unanimous endeavours of the People upon ſuch occaſions, gave a ſtop to the Fury of that Element, and made way for recovering next Year all the Lands; tho' not the People, Cattel, and Houſes that had been loſt.

BEFORE the end of the Year, the *Danes* took *Wiſmar* from the *Swedes*, and by an open War thoſe two Crowns came to be engag'd in the common quarrel: And after a great expectation of ſome extraordinary Succeſſes in the *Spaniſh* Affairs from DON JOHN's intended expedition into *Italy*, to command all the Forces and Provinces of that Crown both there and in *Sicily*, when he was ready to go and meet DE RUYTER at *Barcelona*, who attended him there with the *Dutch* Fleet deſign'd for *Meſſina*, he was by a Court-Intrigue recall'd to *Madrid*: The King was then arriv'd in his Fourteenth Year, and took upon him the Government, as now in Majority; and by the advice of ſome near him in Favour, writ a Letter to DON JOHN to invite him to Court, to aſſiſt him in the Government: He obey'd, but ſtay'd not there above a Fortnight or three Weeks, till by the Credit and Authority of the Queen Mother, he was forc'd to quit his ground there, and return to *Saragoſſa*. And ſo vaniſh'd a mighty expectation that had been rais'd in *Spain*, and other places, of great effects that were to follow this Prince's coming to the Adminiſtration of Affairs, and very great Sums of Money were wholly loſt that had been employ'd in the Preparations of his Journey and Equipage for *Italy*. And *Sicily* was left almoſt hopeleſs of recovery, from the Succeſſes of the *French*, who had taken many Poſts about *Meſſina*, and threaten'd many more; and other Towns were fear'd to follow the Example of that great Revolt.

AFTER the Prince's return from the Campaign to the *Hague*, in *October*, I had ſeveral Conferences with him upon the ſubject of the Peace, and the Terms that both his Majeſty and the States might think reaſonable between *France* and *Spain*, and both thoſe Crowns be in any probability of conſenting to. That which *France* pretended, was the Terms of the Peace of *Aix*, and retaining the County of *Burgundy* which had been ſince Conquer'd; or if either this Province, or ſome of the moſt important Frontier Towns of *Flanders* ſhould be reſtor'd, then an Equivalent to be made them for ſuch Reſtitution. The *Spaniards* talk'd of nothing leſs than the Peace of the *Pyrenees*; and that they would rather loſe the reſt of *Flanders* by the War, than part with *Burgundy* by the Peace; and ſaid, both the King and the States were as much concern'd in *Flanders*, as the Crown of *Spain*; and had the ſame Intereſt to ſee it ſafe by a War or a Peace, which could not be by ſuch a Frontier as was left by that of *Aix*.

THAT which my Lord ARLINGTON had propos'd to the Prince and Penſioner, and which paſs'd for His Majeſty's Sentiment, tho' he pretended no Orders, was the Terms of *Aix la Chapelle*: But in regard of the neceſſity for the *Spaniards* to have a better Frontier in *Flanders* than was left by that Peace, That the *French* ſhould give up *Aeth*, and *Charleroy*, and *Oudenarde*, for *Aire* and *St. Omer*: And that if they parted with the County of *Burgundy*, it ſhould be for ſomething in Exchange. His Majeſty commanded me to aſſure the Prince, That if a Peace could be made upon theſe Terms, or any ſo near them, that he might hope to obtain the conſent of *France*, His Majeſty for the Security of *Flanders* would give his own Guaranty to the Peace, and enter into the ſtricteſt Alliance the States could deſire for preſerving it, or defending *Flanders* in caſe of a new Rupture. He bid me further aſſure the Prince, That for his Patrimonial Lands in *Burgundy* (which were about Eight Thouſand Pounds a Year, and Lordſhips of the greateſt Royalty in that County,) he would undertake for his ſecure poſſeſſing them, tho' that County ſhould remain in the *French* Hands; or for ſelling them to that King, and at what Price the Prince himſelf could think fit to value them.

THE Prince's Anſwer was, That for his own part he could be very well content to leave the Terms of a Peace to His Majeſty himſelf, and believ'd the States would do ſo too; but they were both engag'd by Treaty and Honour to their Allies, and there was no thought of making Peace without them. That he believ'd the *Spaniards* might be perſuaded to it upon the

Terms of *Aix*, with Reſtitution only of *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, and *Oudenarde*, towards compoſing ſome kind of neceſſary Frontier on that Side; but to part with *Aire* and *St. Omer*, without any further and greater Exchange, he believ'd they would not in the preſent Poſture of Things. That for *France* retaining the County of *Burgundy*, as Conquer'd in this laſt War, he was ſure neither *Spain* nor the Emperor would ever conſent to it, unleſs they were beaten into it by Diſaſters they had no Reaſon to expect; tho' for his own part, he ſhould be content with it, provided the *French* would reſtore *Tournay*, *Courtray*, *Liſle*, and *Doway*, with their Dependencies, to the *Spaniards*, in lieu of it; becauſe by that means *Flanders* would have a ſecure Frontier on that Side, and a reaſonable good one by *Aeth* and *Charleroy* on the other; and the Security of *Flanders* was the chief Intereſt of the States upon the Peace. That for himſelf, he thank'd His Majeſty for his Offer, as to his Lands in *Burgundy*; but they never came into his Thought upon the Terms of a Peace, nor ſhould ever hinder it; but on t'other Side, he would be content to loſe them All, to gain One good Town more for the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*.

WHEN I put him in mind, as the King order'd me, of the Apprehenſions He and the States might have of the Greatneſs of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, if their Succeſſes continued; he told me, *There was no need of that, till they ſhould go beyond the Peace of the* Pyrenees; *whenever that ſhould happen, he ſhould be as much a* French-man *as he was now a* Spaniard; *but not before.* He ended, in deſiring that whatever Plan His Majeſty thought fit to propoſe for a Peace, he would do it at the Congreſs at *Nimeguen*; for the number and variety of Pretenſions and Intereſts were grown ſo great, by all the Parties now engag'd in the War, that it could not be done in any other Place; and for his part, he could never conſent to any Treaty ſeparate from his Allies. That he believ'd they would be reaſonable; and if *France* would be ſo too, the Peace might be made; if not, perhaps another Campaign might bring them to Reaſon; and that This might have done it, if ſome Differences between him and the *Spaniards*, in the Actions propos'd, had not hinder'd the Succeſſes they hop'd for in *Flanders*, and if MONTECUCULI's impatience to be at *Vienna*, and paſs the Winter there, upon the Factions ſtirring at Court, had not made him repaſs the *Rhine*, and take his Winter-quarters in the Circles of the Empire there; becauſe if he had done it in *Alſace*, he doubted his Preſence with the Army might be thought neceſſary.

AFTER this Conference, and no Return from His Majeſty to the Account I gave him of it, the Diſcourſe ceas'd of Private Meaſures to be agreed between His Majeſty and the Prince and States, for promoting a Peace; and all Thoughts began now to turn upon forming the Congreſs at *Nimeguen*.

I had another Teſtimony given me of the firmneſs I had always found in the Prince upon the Subject of the Peace, by what one of the *Spaniſh* Miniſters told me had lately paſs'd between him and the Duke DE VILLA HERMOSA. His Highneſs had a long pretence depending at *Madrid*, for about Two Hundred Thouſand Pounds owing to his Family from that Crown ſince the Peace of *Munſter*. It had ever been delay'd, tho' never refus'd: An Agent from the Prince had of late very much preſs'd the Queen Regent of *Spain* upon this Subject, and with much ado had obtain'd an Order for Fifty Thouſand Pounds; and Bills were put into his Hands by the Miniſters there, which when they arriv'd in *Flanders*, inſtead of being pay'd, were Proteſted. The Duke DE VILLA HERMOSA was ſo aſham'd of this Treatment, that he ſent a Perſon purpoſely to excuſe it to the Prince, and aſſure him the Fault was not in the Queen nor Miniſters, but only in the choice of Hands by which it was tranſmitted, and deſir'd his Highneſs would not take it ill of the Queen. The Prince anſwer'd, No, not at all; on t'other Side I have Reaſon to take it well of the Queen, for if ſhe did not think me the honeſteſt Man in the World, ſhe would not uſe me ſo; however, nothing of this kind ſhall hinder me from doing what I owe to my Allies, or to my Honour.

NOTWITHSTANDING all I had written from the Prince to His Majeſty upon this Subject, yet my Lord ARLINGTON, upon pretended Intelligence from his Relations in *Holland*, endeavour'd to perſuade him that he knew not the Prince's Mind for want of ſome Body that had more Credit with him than I had; and at the ſame time he purſu'd the Prince by Letters, to deſire the King to ſend over ſome ſuch Perſon as he might treat with in the laſt Confidence upon all Matters between them. The Prince ſhew'd me his Letters, and bid me aſſure the King and my Lord Treaſurer, that he could ſay no more than he had done to me, and would not ſay ſo much to any other Man. However, my Lord ARLINGTON, upon the former Suggeſtions, prevail'd with the King to ſend over Sir GABRIEL SYLVIUS Inſtructed, to know the bottom of the Prince's Mind upon the Subject of the Peace, before the Campaign began. He acquainted the Prince with this Reſolution, and that he was a Perſon they knew His Highneſs would truſt; The Prince ſhew'd me this Letter too, and ſaid, He knew not what he meant; that Lord ARLINGTON knew as well as any Man how far he truſted both Sir GABRIEL SYLVIUS and me. This good Uſage ended all Correſpondence between Lord ARLINGTON and me, which had laſted by Letters to this Time, tho' coldly ſince my being laſt in *England.* But upon Sir GABRIEL SYLVIUS coming to the *Hague* in *January*, and my Preparation to go for *Nimeguen*, I ended that Scent; having not learn'd enough of the Age, nor the Court I liv'd in, to act an unſincere Part either in Friendſhip or in Love.

WHEN Sir GABRIEL came to the *Hague*, he paſs'd for a Man of ſome great Intrigue, was perpetually at Court, or in Converſation and Viſits with the Perſons near the Prince, or moſt imploy'd in the State. But he and Lord ARLINGTON were ſoon ſatisfy'd to how good Purpoſe he came over; for the Prince, who is the ſincereſt Man in the World, hating all Tricks, and thoſe that uſe them, gave him no Mark of the leaſt Confidence while he ſtaid, and ſent him away with a very plain one of the contrary, by truſting another Hand with all he writ of Conſequence into *England*, before he went into the Field. The Truth is, the Prince took this Journey of his to have been deſigned by my Lord ARLINGTON, both out of Spight to me, and to give Jealouſies to the Confederates, by the Suſpicion of ſomething in Agitation between the King and the Prince that I was not thought fit to be truſted with. And indeed ſeveral of their Miniſters at the *Hague*, were apt to fall into ſuch Surmiſes: but Monſieur DE LYRA, a *Spaniſh* Miniſter, a Perſon much credited in his own Court, and much in the Prince's Confidence, was ever firm in the Belief of His Highneſs's Honour and Conſtancy (which he us'd to ſay his Maſter truſted to more than to any Treaties), and ſo help'd to prevent all ſuch Impreſſions.

IN the mean Time, all motions neceſſary towards forming the Congreſs at *Nimeguen* began to be made by the ſeveral Parties, and gave appearances of the Ambaſſadors meeting ſuddenly there. The great obſtruction hitherto had been the point of Prince WILLIAM of FURSTEMBURG'S Liberty, which *France* had abſolutely inſiſted on before they ſent their Ambaſſadors, and the Emperor had been induc'd to promiſe only upon concluſion of the Treaty. But an Expedient was found out to ſalve the Honour of *France* upon this point, rather than the Treaty ſhould be hinder'd, which was at that Time thought neceſſary for their Affairs: The Biſhop of STRASBURG made a formal Requeſt to the King of *France*, That no private Intereſts, or Reſpects of his Brother, might delay the Treaty of a Peace which was of ſo much Conſequence to all *Chriſtendom*; and this Requeſt being at this Time eaſily receiv'd and granted, no further Difficulty was made upon this Point.

HIS Majeſty thereupon invited all the Princes concern'd in the War, to haſten away their Miniſters to the Place of Congreſs, and acquainted them with his having order'd his own to repair immediately thither; and having ſome Months before appointed the Lord BERKLEY (then Ambaſſador at *Paris*) Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE and Sir LIONEL JENKINS His Ambaſſadors, Mediators, and Plenipotentiaries for the Treaty of *Nimeguen*; Sir LIONEL was accordingly diſpatch'd away, and arriv'd at the *Hague* towards the End of *January* 1676, and brought with him our Inſtructions for that Ambaſſy; and after ſome few Days Stay at the *Hague*, went away for *Nimeguen*. But the Expedition of the Paſſports, from and to all the Miniſters of the ſeveral Parties, having been for ſome Time under my Care, and many of them come to my Hands, tho' others were entangled ſtill in ſome Difficulty or other, we both concluded it neceſſary for me to continue at the *Hague* till this was diſpatched; whilſt Sir LIONEL ſhou'd go upon the Place of Congreſs, and by the Preſence of a Mediator, invite the reſt to make more Haſte than many of them ſeem'd diſpos'd to at this Time.

THE *French* Ambaſſadors were already come to *Charleville*, where they ſtaid for their Paſsports only to go on with their Journey; and upon Sir LIONEL's Arrival at the *Hague*, the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors came to us to acquaint us with the States Orders for their immediate repair to *Nimeguen*, and for the Magiſtrates of that City (which they now conſider'd as a Neutral Town) to receive all Orders from us the Mediators, and particularly any we pleas'd to give about our Reception upon our Arrival there.

WE told them His Majeſty's Thoughts were upon the Succeſſes of the Treaty, and that nothing cou'd more obſtruct it than the Ceremonies which uſed to attend thoſe Meetings; and therefore he order'd us to introduce as much as we cou'd among all the Ambaſſadors, the Method of living there as much like private Men as cou'd conſiſt with the Honour of their Characters; and to this End, that we ſhou'd make no publick Entries, and give thereby an Example to thoſe that came after us.

TO avoid all Punctilioes about the Time of the ſeveral Parties diſpatching the Paſsports, it was agreed that all ſhou'd be ſent to the *Hague* from the ſeveral Courts, and there ſhou'd be put into my Hands; to the End, that when I found my ſelf poſſeſs'd of them, I ſhou'd make the Diſtribution reciprocally to both Parties at the ſame Time. Thoſe of *France* were early with me, but ſhort in ſome Points of thoſe from the Confederates; the

Chief whereof was the Omiſſion of Liberty granted to the Ambaſſadors to diſpatch Couriers to their Maſters Courts upon Paſsports of the reſpective Ambaſſadors, which was thought neceſſary for the Progreſs of the Treaty. Another was the Omiſſion of Paſsports for the Duke of LORRAIN's Miniſters in the Form uſual and expected: For whereas the Crown of *France* had always treated the former Dukes of LORRAIN with the Title of Duke, and Appellation of Brother; their Paſsports now treated the new Duke only with *Couſin*, and *Prince* CHARLES *of* LORRAIN; the reſt were minute Differences or Miſtakes of Words, which are not worth the Mention, and were eaſily ſurmounted. Of all theſe His Majeſty had early Notice, and imploy'd his Offices towards *France* for ſome Months, without Anſwer upon that of LORRAIN, and with poſitive Refuſal of inſerting the Clauſe for liberty of Paſsports; tho' Monſieur VAN BEUNINGHEN ſeveral Times, during this Pauſe, writ to the States, That the King often aſſur'd him (their Ambaſſador at *London*) that there ſhou'd be no Difficulty in the Buſineſs of LORRAIN.

ABOUT the Beginning of *February* this Year 1676, I receiv'd a Letter from Monſieur DE POMPONE, then Secretary for foreign Affairs in *France*, to tell me, That his Maſter having been acquainted from His

Majeſty with the Difficulties occurring in forming the Congreſs, had order'd him to let me know his Reaſons upon them. As to that of Couriers, That he thought it not fit to have his Countries and Towns lie open to his Enemies Obſervations and Diſcoveries, upon pretext of ſuch Couriers frequent Paſſage; That the inconvenience would be the ſame to the Confederates; And that he ask'd no more than he gave. As to the Point of *Lorrain*, That his Maſter could not give Paſſports with the ſtile of *Duke*, which carried that of *Brother*, pretending that Dutchy belong'd to His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty by the Treaty in 1662 between Him and the laſt Duke.

NOT many Days after, I receiv'd notice from Secretary WILLIAMSON, of the ſame Account having been given His Majeſty by Monſieur DE RUVIGNY, with order to acquaint the States with it; which I had not done upon Monſieur DE POMPONE's Letter, as not thinking fit to make any paces in theſe matters without Orders from His Majeſty. The States and all their Allies were very much ſurpris'd with this pretence of *Lorrain*, which *France* had never before advanc'd, or ſo much as mention'd, either upon the ſeiſure of that Dutchy, or ſince that Time, in the Accounts of it by their Miniſters in the ſeveral Courts of *Chriſtendom*; they had only profeſs'd to have found ſuch a ſeiſure neceſſary for preſerving the Peace wherein *Chriſtendom* then was, from the Dangerous or uncertain Diſpoſitions of that Duke, with whom His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty could take no certain Meaſures, and his Enemies would be practiſing; but that it was without any intention of retaining any part of that Durchy, otherwiſe than for this end of preſerving the Peace of *Chriſtendom.* All this, with many more Circumſtances, Monſieur SERINCHAMPS, the *Lorrain* Envoy, alledg'd at the Conferences with the States and Allies upon this Occaſion; and for the Treaty of 1662, he ſeem'd to wonder it ſhould ever be mention'd, as a thing wholly invalid, and, as every body thought, thereupon long ſince forgotten; That the laſt Duke had no power to diſpoſe of that Dutchy from his Nephew; beeauſe, if the *Salique Law* had place in *Lorrain*, it was unalienable from the next Heir-Male; if the *Feminine Succeſſion*, then that Duke himſelf had no Title at all to it, but it belong'd to the preſent Duke even in the Life of his Uncle. Secondly, That it was invalid, by the *French* Non-performance of the only Condition on their ſide, upon which the Old Duke pretended to have made it; which was *That the Princes of that Family ſhould be aſſum'd into the Rank of Princes of the Blood in* France; and that upon regiſtring that Treaty of 1662 in the Parliament of *Paris*, without that Clauſe, the Old Duke had declar'd it void within three Weeks after it was made.

Thirdly, That a Treaty was concluded the Year after, being 1663, at *Marſal*, between the moſt Chriſtian King and the ſaid Duke; by which he was to continue in the poſſeſſion of all his Territories, beſides *Marſal*, in the ſame manner as he enjoy'd them by the Treaty of 1661. as he did till the ſeiſure of them by *France* in 1670, during a profound Peace, and with the Profeſſions above-mention'd made by *France* to His Majeſty at that Time (as Monſieur SERINCHAMPS averr'd) as well as to the other Courts of *Chriſtendom*.

THESE Arguments were of ſuch force with all the Confederates, that they were unanimous and firm in poſitively inſiſting upon the Paſsports of that Duke, with the uſual Forms; and the more, ſince *France* had advanc'd a pretence to that Dutchy, which was never thought of before among the Allies. The *Auſtrian* Miniſters told me frankly, That the Treaty ſhould never be without this allowance of the Duke of LORRAIN's Title, nor the Peace without his Reſtitution. The States ſaid, They for their parts would willingly refer this, and any other matters concerning the Treaty, to His Majeſty's Arbitration; but that they were bound already by other Treaties to their Allies; and particularly, to the Duke of LORRAIN; and could not break from them upon a Point of ſuch apparent Right as this. The Prince ſpoke the ſame Language, and ſaid further, That he was bound by his Oath of Stadtholder, among other things, to endeavour to the utmoſt of his Power to keep the States to the due Obſervance of their Treaties; and ſo, by the Grace of God, he wou'd do in this as well as others.

ALL this being ſignified to His Majeſty, and by him to *France*, that Court continu'd peremptory in the Matter; and the Allies perſiſting in the ſame Diſpoſition, the Congreſs began to be look'd upon from all Sides as a thing ended before it began. The Allies took this Pretence for a Declaration from *France* of their Reſolution there ſhou'd be no Treaty at preſent; and grounded it upon ſome great Expectation or Deſign they had upon further Progreſſes in *Sicily*, or new ones in *Naples*; or elſe from Hopes of bringing in the *Poles* to the Aſſiſtance of *Sweden*.

BUT the Truth was, That *France* had been forc'd to diſcover upon this Incident what they had always at Heart: And I ever obſerv'd in the Courſe of all theſe Negotiations, That there were Three Points for which *France* thought the War worth continuing to the laſt Extremity; which were, rather than reſtore *Lorrain*, or *Burgundy*, or leave a good Frontier on both Sides of the *Spaniſh* Territories in *Flanders*. The Two firſt wou'd hinder the Progreſs of their great Deſign, whether of extending their Empire only to the *Rhine*, or beyond it: The laſt wou'd hinder their Conqueſt of *Flanders*, whenever they purſu'd the finiſhing of that Adventure; by leaving a Paſſage for the *Germans* to relieve it, and by ſo great and dangerous a Diverſion as entring *France* through *Lorrain* or *Burgundy*.

HIS Majeſty moſt certainly diſapprov'd, and was ſurpriz'd with this Pretence of *France* to the Dutchy of *Lorrain*; but yet was prevail'd with by Monſieur DE RUVIGNY to offer the Expedient of His Majeſty as Mediator, giving all Paſsports neceſſary to the Congreſs at *Nimeguen*. Monſieur *Van* BEUNINGHEN in this Matter acted the Part rather of a *Burgomaſter of* Amſterdam, than an *Ambaſſador of the States*; and to make Court to that Town, which began to expreſs great Impatience for the Peace, he aſſur'd His Majeſty, That his Maſters cou'd not fail of conſenting to this Expedient. I foreſaw it wou'd be refus'd, and gave His Majeſty Notice of it before I propos'd it to the States, as thinking his Honour, and that of the Mediation, concern'd in ſuch a Refuſal; but receiving direct Orders to propoſe it, I did ſo. The States told me, They wou'd of themſelves conſent to this, or whatever elſe His Majeſty ſhou'd propoſe; but having communicated it to their Allies, they wou'd not hear of it; ſome refuſing it with Heat, and Reflection upon His Majeſty's Partiality to *France*; others with Sullenneſs and Silence, referring themſelves to new Orders from their Maſters.

HEREUPON the Congreſs grew wholly deſperate, and all Parties prepar'd for the Field; without any other View, for the Three Months following the firſt Riſe of this Pretention. In the mean Time there paſs'd a Fight between the *French*, and *Dutch* and *Spaniſh* Ships, near *Meſſina*; wherein DE RUYTER was ſhot in the Heel by a Cannon-bullet, of which he died within few Days after, and determin'd the greateſt Loſs to have certainly happen'd on that Side, by that of the ableſt Sea-Captain of his Age, and the beſt Servant that any Prince or State cou'd have: For the reſt, the Advantage was not conſiderable on either Part in this Fight, nor the Conſequence material in the Progreſs of the *French* Arms in *Sicily*, or in any Proſpect of great Enterpriſes upon *Naples*. On the other Side, the *Swediſh* Affairs went very ill in *Pomerania*, and were threatned with great Invaſions the following Campaign, both from *Denmark* and *Brandenburg*. This decry'd the Counſels of thoſe Perſons that engag'd them in this Quarrel. Two Ambaſſadors, Count OXENSTIERN and OLIVECRANS, were appointed for the Treaty at *Nimeguen*, who had ever been of the Sentiments of the Faction which now began to prevail in the *Swediſh* Court: They grew impatient for a Peace, and for the Treaty in order to it: They declar'd their Diſapproval of the *French* Pretenſion rais'd to *Lorrain*, which ſeem'd only to obſtruct it; and that they wou'd ſend their Miniſters to the Congreſs, whether the *French* came or not: And their Commiſſary at the *Hague* ſo well ſeconded theſe new Diſpoſitions of his Court, that whilſt the Congreſs look'd deſperate by the declar'd Obſtinacy of both Sides upon the Point of *Lorrain*, Ships and Paſsports were diſpatch'd by the States, with Conſent of their Allies, to fetch the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors from *Gottenburg* into *Holland*.

THE Confederates were beſides much animated in their Hopes, from the Diſpoſitions and Humours expreſs'd in a late Seſſion of Parliament in *England*; which grew ſo high againſt the *French*, or at leaſt, upon that Pretence, againſt the preſent Conduct of His Majeſty or his Miniſters, that the King prorogu'd them about *Chriſtmas*, before any of the Matters projected by the warm Men amongſt the Houſe of Commons were brought into Form.

THE *French* were upon their March into *Flanders*, and that King at the Head of a great and brave Army threatned ſome great Enterprize. The Prince was preparing to go away into the Field, with Reſolution and Hopes of having the Honour of a Battel at the Opening of the Campaign; all Thoughts of the Congreſs meeting before the End of it were laid aſide; when about the Middle of *May* I was extremely ſurpriz'd to receive a Packet from Secretary WILLIAMSON, with the *French* Paſsports for the Duke of LORRAIN's Miniſters, in the Form and with the Styles demanded by the Allies. And hereupon all Difficulties being remov'd, the Paſsports were exchang'd by the End of *May*.

SOME Days were loſt, by a new Demand of the Allies for Paſsports likewiſe for the Duke of NEUBURG's Miniſters, who was newly entred into the common Alliance; and the ſame Paces were expected likewiſe from the Duke of BAVARIA (at leaſt ſo the *Germans* flatter'd themſelves or their Friends). Upon this, ſome of the Miniſters of the Allies at the *Hague*, whoſe Maſters were very unwilling the Congreſs ſhou'd begin before the Campaign ended, prevail'd with the States to ſend Deputies to me, to demand Paſsports for the Duke of NEUBURG, and any other Princes that ſhou'd enter into their Alliance; and to declare, That if theſe were refus'd by *France*, they wou'd look upon what had been already granted as void.

I was ſomething ſurpriz'd at ſo unexpected a Meſſage from the States; and told their Deputies, That ſuch a Reſolution was unpracticable; That His Majeſty had undertaken to procure Paſsports for the Parties engag'd in the War, and all the Allies they had nam'd on both Sides, which was done, and thereupon the Congreſs ready to begin; and ſuch a Delay as this wou'd occaſion, was both a Diſreſpect to His Majeſty, and that cou'd not be conſented to by *France*, nor the Reciprocal of it by any of the Allies that foreſaw the Conſequences which might happen upon it; That ſome Ally of *France* might fall off to the Confederates, or ſome of the Confederates to *France*; and with ſuch Circumſtances, as it cou'd not be expected either of them ſhou'd think fit to give Paſsports, or treat with them at the Congreſs; nor was it a Thing in any Form, to demand Paſsports without naming for whom they ſhou'd be. After ſeveral other Exceptions, the Deputies deſir'd me to let them repreſent my Reaſons againſt it to the States, and to expect their Anſwer till the next Afternoon; and one of them told me as he went out, That I had all the Reaſon in the World, and that they had been too eaſy in it upon the Inſtances of ſome Allies. Next Day the Deputies came to let me know the States had alter'd their Reſolution, and deſir'd only, That His Majeſty wou'd procure Paſsports for the Duke of NEUBURG's Miniſters; which I eaſily undertook. This Change had not paſs'd without violent Heats between the States Deputies and the Miniſters of ſome Allies, who preſs'd them ſo far, that one of the Deputies anſwer'd him, *Que pretendez vous donc, Meſſieurs,*

Meſſieurs, de nous faire dechirer par la Canaille? [*Do you intend then, Gentlemen, to make us be torn in Pieces by the Rabble?*] Which ſhews the Diſpoſition that ran ſo generally at this Time throughout the Trading Provinces towards a Peace.

THERE remain'd now but one Preliminary undetermin'd, which was, To fix ſome Extent of Neutral Country about the Place of Congreſs: *France* wou'd have extended it Two Leagues round; the Allies wou'd have it bounded on one Side by the River *Waal*, upon which *Nimeguen* ſtood, and was divided by it from the *Betuwe*, a Part of the Province of *Holland*, and through which lay the ſtrait Road into the reſt of that Country. Both theſe Propoſals were grounded upon the ſame Reaſon: That of *France* to facilitate the Commerce of their Ambaſſadors with the Towns of *Holland*, incite the Deſires, and enter into Practices of Peace diſtinct from the Motions of the Congreſs; That of the Allies, to prevent or encumber the too eaſy and undiſcover'd Paſſage of the *French* Emiſſaries upon this Occaſion. However, both were poſitive in their Opinions; ſo as this Matter came not to be determin'd till ſome Time after the Congreſs began, and but lamely then.

CHAP. II.

THE Prince was now ready to go into the Field, and told me, That before he went, he muſt have ſome Talk with me in private, and at leiſure; and to that Purpoſe deſir'd it might be in the Garden of *Honſlaerdyck*. We appointed the Hour, and met accordingly. He told me, I wou'd eaſily believe, That being the only Son that was left of his Family, he was often preſs'd by his Friends to think of marrying, and had many Perſons propos'd to him, as their ſeveral Humours led them: That for his own Part, he knew it was a Thing to be done at one Time or other; but that he had hitherto excus'd the Thoughts of it, otherwiſe than in general, till the War was ended: That, beſides his own Friends, the Deputies of the States began to preſs him more earneſtly every Day, and the more, as they ſaw the War like to continue; and perhaps they had more Reaſon to do it than any others: That he had at laſt promis'd them he wou'd think of it more ſeriouſly and particularly, and ſo he had, and reſolv'd he wou'd marry; but the Choice of a Perſon he thought more difficult: That he found himſelf inclin'd to no Propoſals had been made him out of *France* or *Germany*, nor indeed to any that had been mention'd upon this Occaſion by any of his Friends, but that of *England*: That before he concluded to make any Paces that Way, he was reſolv'd to have my Opinion upon Two Points; but yet wou'd not ask it, unleſs I promis'd to anſwer him as a Friend, or at leaſt an indifferent Perſon, and not as the King's Ambaſſador. When I told him he ſhou'd be obey'd, he went on, and ſaid, That he wou'd confeſs to me, during the late War, neither the States, nor He in particular, were without Applications from ſeveral Perſons, and conſiderable, in *England*, who wou'd fain have engag'd them to head the Diſcontents that were rais'd by the Conduct of the Court in that whole War, which he knew was begun and carried on quite contrary to the Humour of the Nation, and might perhaps have prov'd very dangerous to the Crown, if it had not ended as it did: That all theſe Perſons, who pretended to be much his Friends, were extreamly againſt any Thoughts of his marrying in *England*; their Reaſons were, That he wou'd by it loſe all the Eſteem and Intereſt he had there, and be believ'd to have run wholly into the Diſpoſitions and Deſigns of the Court, which were generally thought ſo different from thoſe of the Nation, eſpecially upon the Point of Religion, that his Friends there did not believe the Government cou'd be long without ſome great Diſturbance, unleſs they chang'd their Meaſures, which was not eſteem'd very likely to be done: And upon this he deſir'd my Thoughts as a Friend. The next was upon the Perſon and Diſpoſitions of the Young Lady; for tho' it wou'd not paſs in the World for a Prince to ſeem concern'd in thoſe Particulars; yet for himſelf, he wou'd tell me, without any Sort of Affectation, that he was ſo, and in ſuch a Degree, that no Circumſtances of Fortune or Intereſt cou'd engage him, without thoſe of the Perſon, eſpecially thoſe of Humour and Diſpoſitions: That he might, perhaps, not be very eaſy for a Wife to live with; he was ſure he ſhou'd not to ſuch Wives as were generally in the Courts of this Age: That if he ſhou'd meet with one to give him Trouble at Home, 'twas what he ſhou'd not be able to bear, who was like to have enough Abroad in the Courſe of his Life: And that after the Manner he was reſolv'd to live with a Wife, which ſhou'd be the beſt he cou'd; he wou'd have one that he thought likely to live well with him, which he thought chiefly depended upon her Diſpoſition and Education; and if I knew any Thing particular of the Lady MARY in theſe Points, he deſir'd me to tell him freely.

I anſwer'd His Highneſs, That I was very glad to find he was reſolv'd to marry, being what he ow'd his Family and Friends; That I was much more pleas'd that his Inclination

clination led him to endeavour it in *England*: That I thought it as much for his Intereſt, as others of his *Engliſh* Friends thought it was againſt it: That the King and His Highneſs wou'd ever be able to do one another more Good, and more Harm, than any other Princes cou'd do either of them, by being Friends or Enemies: That it was a great Step to be one Degree nearer the Crown, and in all Appearance the next: That for his Friends (as they pretended) in *England*, they muſt ſee much further than I did, to believe the King in any ſuch Dangers or Difficulties as they imagin'd: That the Crown of *England* ſtood upon ſurer Foundations than ever it had done in former Times, and the more for what had paſs'd in the laſt Reign; and that I believ'd the People wou'd be found better Subjects than perhaps the King himſelf believ'd them: That it was however in his Power to be as well with them as he pleas'd, and to make as ſhort Turns to ſuch an End; if not, yet with the Help of a little good Husbandry, he might paſs his Reign in Peace, tho' not perhaps with ſo much Eaſe at Home, or Glory Abroad, as if he fell into the Vein of his People: That if the Court were of Sentiments different from thoſe of His Highneſs, yet his Adviſers wou'd make him a greater Compliment in believing him as likely to induce the Court to his, as in concluding they wou'd bring him to theirs; and if that ſhou'd happen, the moſt ſeditious Men in *England* wou'd be hard put to it to find an ill Side in ſuch a Match: That for the other Point, I cou'd ſay nothing to it, but that I had always heard my Wife and my Siſter ſpeak with all the Advantage that cou'd be of what they cou'd diſcern in a Princeſs ſo young, and more from what they had been told by the Governeſs, with whom they had a particular Friendſhip, and who they were ſure took all the Care that cou'd be in ſo much of Education as fell to her Share.

AFTER Two Hours Diſcourſe upon this Subject, the Prince concluded he wou'd enter upon this Purſuit; and in order to it, wou'd write both to the King and the Duke to beg their Favour to him in it, and their Leave that he might go over into *England* at the End of the Campaign: That my Wife, who was then going over upon my private Affairs, ſhou'd carry and deliver both his Letters; and during her Stay there, ſhou'd endeavour to inform her ſelf the moſt particularly ſhe cou'd, of all that concern'd the Perſon, Humour, and Diſpoſitions of the Young Princeſs, in which he ſeem'd ſo much concern'd.

WITHIN Two or Three Days after theſe Diſcourſes, the Prince brought his Letters to my Wife, and went immediately to the Army, and ſhe went ſuddenly after into *England* with thoſe Diſpatches, and left me preparing for my Journey to *Nimeguen*, where the *Dutch* firſt, and after them the *French* Ambaſſadors were arriv'd, and conſequently thoſe of the Two principal Parties in the War.

BEFORE I went, DU MOULIN met my Chaplain in the *Voorhout*, and told him he was ſo ill, that he knew he had not long to live; and that he cou'd not die in quiet, without asking my Pardon for ſo many falſe and injurious things as he confeſs'd to have ſaid of me ſince my laſt Ambaſſy in *Holland*, tho' he had before had all the Eſteem that cou'd be for me. He deſir'd my Chaplain, ſince I had always refuſs'd to ſee him, that he wou'd do this Office for him, and ask my Pardon as from a dying Man. This Du MOULIN, after having been much imploy'd and favour'd by my Lord ARLINGTON, during the Counſels and Vogue of the Triple Alliance, and diſgrac'd by him after the Change of thoſe Meaſures in *England*, went over into *Holland*, was entertain'd by the Prince as one of his Secretaries, grew into great Favour and Confidence during the War, was made uſe of by the Malecontents of *England* in their Applications at the *Hague*; and was thought worth all my Lord ARLINGTON's Inſtances and Endeavours when he was at the *Hague*, to remove him from the Prince's Service. I receiv'd afterwards Commands to the ſame Purpoſe, and compaſs'd it not without Time and Difficulty: He had not been long laid aſide when this happen'd; and whether that, or the Knowledge of the Prince's late Reſolution to purſue the Match in *England*, help'd to break his Heart; or whether it were a Conſumption, as his Friends gave out, I know not; but he died ſoon after, and with him the Intrigues of that Party in *England*, that had for ſome Time imploy'd him, and buſy'd his Friends in *Holland*.

AFTER many Delays in the Diſpatch and Exchange of the Paſsports, I got looſe from the *Hague* about the Beginning of *July* 1676, upon my Journey to *Nimeguen*, where the *French* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors being already arriv'd, preſs'd very much for my coming, in regard Sir LIONEL JENKINS excus'd himſelf from performing any Acts or Offices of the Mediation till my Arrival, and contented himſelf to paſs only the uſual Viſits. The Diſpoſitions I obſerv'd in the ſeveral Parties towards the Succeſs of this Congreſs, when I went in order to the Opening of it, were very different, and very unlikely to draw it to any ſudden Iſſue; but only to attend and be govern'd by the Succeſſes of the ſeveral Armies in the Field, and the Events expected from the Actions of the Campaign. The *French* had given all the Facility they cou'd for ſome Months paſt to the forming of the Congreſs, and made all the Haſte they cou'd for their Ambaſſadors to be upon the Place, deſiring no better Peace than upon the preſent Plan of Affairs; and hoping by their Forwardneſs, and the great Backwardneſs of ſome of the Allies, to make Way for ſome ſeparate Treaties with thoſe among them who began to be impatient for Peace. The Houſe of AUSTRIA was ſullen, as Loſers uſe to be, and ſo were very ſlow and reſty in all their Paces towards this Treaty; the *Germans* hoping for great Succeſſes of their Arms in this Campaign, and the *Spaniards* flattering themſelves with the Intereſts His Majeſty had in the Preſervation of *Flanders*, and with the Part which the Parliament in *England* ſeem'd of late to have taken in their Affairs; and both were in Hopes that ſomething might ariſe from one of theſe Sides, to make Room for Pretenſions that cou'd not be in Countenance as things ſtood at preſent. The *Swede* was very earneſt for a Peace, as having more Hopes of recovering himſelf that Way, than by the Courſe of a War. *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* were violent for continuing the War; finding the *Swedes* weak, divided, and unrelievable by *France* any otherwiſe than with their Money, and hoping to drive them this Summer out of *Germany*. The States were very deſirous of the Peace, having no Pretences of their own, but to get well out of a War that ruin'd their Trade, and drain'd their Money; but they durſt not break from their Confederates, not truſting *England* enough, nor *France* at all, ſo as to leave themſelves in a Condition of depending upon either of them after the Peace ſhou'd be made. One general Thread ran through the Counſels on both Sides; on the *French*, to break the Confidence and Union of the Confederacy by different Paces and Advances to the ſeveral Parties in the Courſe of the Treaty; on the Confederates, to preſerve the ſame Confidence and Union with which they had carried on the War, even after the Peace ſhou'd be made. His Majeſty, tho' he was offer'd by ſome of the Parties to be Arbiter, as well as Mediator, in the preſent Differences; and was known by them all to have it in his Power to make that Figure as he pleas'd; yet choſe the other, and gave us Orders accordingly, only to perform the Offices of a bare Mediation, and to avoid the Parties ſubmitting their Differences to his Determination: So that upon the Whole, it was eaſy to foreſee the Congreſs wou'd only prove a Buſineſs of Form; and proceed no otherwiſe than as it ſhou'd be mov'd, or rather govern'd by the Events of the Field.

HOWEVER, the Opening of it might well be call'd the Dawn of a Peace; which put me in Mind of the only Prophecy of this Sort that I had ever thought worth taking Notice of; nor ſhou'd I have done ſo, but that Monſieur COLBERT ſhew'd it me at my coming to *Nimeguen*, and made me remember to have ſeen it in my Lord ARLINGTON's Hands in the Year 1668, who told me it was very old, and had been found in ſome Abbey of *Germany*. It was in theſe Terms:

Lilium intrabit in terram Leonis, *feras in brachiis gerens; Aquila movebit alas, & in auxilium veniet filius hominis ab Auſtro: Tunc erit ingens bellum per totum terrarum orbem; ſed poſt quatuor annos pax eluceſcet, & ſalus erit filio hominis unde exitium putabatur.*

The Lilly *ſhall invade the Land of the* Lion, *bearing wild Beaſts in its Arms; the* Eagle *ſhall move its Wings, and the Son of Man ſhall come to his Aſſiſtance from the South: Then there ſhall be great War throughout the World; but after Four Years Peace ſhall dawn, and the Son of Man be deliver'd by thoſe from whom his Ruine was expected.*

Thoſe who have a Mind to give Credit to ſuch Propheſies from the Courſe of Events, muſt allow the *Leopards* (the Antient Arms of *England*) to be meant by *the wild Beaſts*; the King of *Spain* by *the Son of Man*; the Congreſs at *Nimeguen* (Four Years after the War began) by the *Dawn of Peace*; and *Spain*'s having been ſav'd by the States and the Prince of

ORANGE, by *thoſe from whom its Ruine was expected.* But I eaſily believe, that as Moſt Prophecies which run in the World, ariſe from the Contrivances of Crafty, or the Dreams of Enthuſiaſtical Heads; and the Senſe of them (where there is any) lies wrapt up in myſtical or incoherent Expreſſions, fit to receive many ſorts of Interpretations; and ſome perhaps from the Leiſure of great Wits that are ill imploy'd, and ſeek Diverſion to themſelves, by writing things at random, with the ſcornful Thought of amuſing the World about nothing; So Others are broach'd for old, either after Events happen, or when they are ſo probable as to be eaſily conjectur'd by foreſeeing Men: And it ſeems ſtrange, that of the firſt Kind (being ſo many) no more happen to be fulfill'd, with the Help of ſo much Inclination to believe, as well as ſo much Invention to wreſt the Meaning of Words to the Senſe pretended. But whether this I mention may not have been one of the laſt Kind, is uncertain; for in that very Year it was produc'd, and given my Lord ARLINGTON by a *French-man* (as he told me) the Deſign of this War was not only laying, but well advanc'd by the Practiſes of Monſieur COLBERT upon the Miniſters of our Court, (where he was then Ambaſſador) and by the violent Humour of my Lord CLIFFORD to enter into the Leagues then projected by *France*; ſo that the very

Day the Parliament gave His Majeſty a mighty Sum of Money, to compliment him upon ſo applauded a Counſel and Succeſs as that of the Triple Alliance in the Year 1668, that Lord, coming out of the Houſe of Commons, where he was then a Member, cou'd not hold ſaying to a Friend of mine who came out with him, That for all this great Joy, it muſt not be long before we have another War with *Holland*. And which of theſe Two Propheſies were the more to be conſider'd, or the better inſpir'd, I leave it to every one to gueſs as they pleaſe.

Nimeguen is ſeated upon the Side of a Hill, which is the laſt of *Germany*; and ſtoops upon the River *Waal*, which waſhes the lower Part of the Town, and divides it from the *Betuwe*, an Iſland lying all upon flat low Ground, between the *Waal* and the old *Rhine*, which was the Antient Seat of thoſe the *Romans* call'd *Batavians*, and, for their Bravery and Love of Liberty, took into their Confederacy, when they ſubjected all the neighbouring Parts of *Gaul* and *Germany*. *Betuwe* and *Waal* were the Antient *German* Names, and turn'd into *Batavia* and *Vahalis* by the *Roman* Terminations, as *Cologne* and *Cleves* are *Roman* Names chang'd into *German*. *Betuwe* ſignifies in the old *German fat Earth*, as *Veluwe* (a great Heathy Country on t'other Side the *Rhine*) does courſe or *barren Earth*. Whether *Nimeguen* came from *Neomagum*, or *Neomagum* from *Nimeguen*, I cannot determine; but the old Caſtle, as well as many Antiquities found about it, ſhew it to have been a Colony of the *Romans*; and it is ſeated in very good Air, encompaſs'd on Three Sides by great and dry Heaths; is well built, and inhabited by a good Sort of People.

I excus'd my ſelf from letting the Magiſtrates of *Nimeguen* know what Time I deſign'd my Arrival there, tho' they ſent to inform themſelves while I was upon the Way; and I refus'd any Ceremonies at Entry, to prevent that Pretence in other Ambaſſadors, and the Troubles and Diſturbances ſuch publick Receptions might occaſion. However I cou'd not eſcape ſome Part of it, for which I had like to have paid a great deal more than 'twas worth. The River of *Nimeguen* is very rapid in the Midſt of the Stream, which lies near the Town, and ſpreads very broad upon the other Side to the *Betuwe*, being upon flat Grounds. The firſt Part of it is paſs'd by a very large Ferry-Boat, which held at once my Two Coaches and Six Horſes, one Waggon with my Trunks, Eight Saddle-Horſes, and wou'd have receiv'd many more. This Boat is of a Contrivance ſo ſingular, as well as ſo commodious, that I have much wonder'd never to have ſeen it practis'd in any other Place; for the Force of the Stream drives the Boat croſs the River without the leaſt Pains of the Men, being kept to its

Courſe by a ſtrong Cable extended from one Side to the other, and faſten'd to a Pully ſet up for that Purpoſe in the Boat; ſo that no Streſs of Weather hinders this Paſſage, and the harder the Stream runs, the ſooner 'tis made. Where the River grows ſhallow, and the Current ſlack, on the *Betuwe* Side, it is ſupply'd by a Bridge of Planks for about Two Hundred Paces, which are ill kept, many looſe or ſhaking, and no Defence on the Sides. When my Coaches were upon this Bridge, the Cannon of the Town began to fire, and ſo continued all the while I was upon the River; which was a Piece of Civility well underſtood; but my Horſes were ſo unruly with that Noiſe, and the Clatter of the Planks, that they were much likelier to have carried me into the River than into the Boat. But when, with the Help of my Servants on foot that led them, we got in there, we were ſafe as in a Houſe, and got well away to the Town, where I landed at Sir LIONEL JENKINS's Houſe, and ſtay'd there till late in the Evening, to avoid any Viſits or Ceremonies that Night.

THE next Day I was viſited by the *French* Ambaſſadors. With Monſieur D'AVAUX paſs'd little but what was common upon ſuch Occaſions: But the Mareſchal D'ESTRADES and Monſieur COLBERT, being of my particular Acquaintance in my former Ambaſſies at the *Hague* and *Aix la Chapelle*,

pelle, pretended, in their firſt ſeparate Viſits, to enter with me upon Points and Terms of great Confidence, and upon Matters that gave me Light into the whole Deſign of *France* intended by the Steps of this Treaty, to which they had of late ſhew'd ſo great Forwardneſs, at leaſt in the forming of this Congreſs, and Diſpatch of their Ambaſſadors, before thoſe of the Allies were in any Motion, or perhaps Diſpoſition towards it. They both told me, That they had expreſs and private Orders from the King their Maſter, to make me particular Compliments upon the Eſteem His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had for my Perſon, and to make their Application wholly to me in the Courſe of this Negotiation, tho' one of us Miniſters Mediators came from reſiding in their own Court; but they knew very well I had the King my Maſter's Confidence, as well as that of his Miniſters; and that having had the Framing of this Congreſs from the firſt Overtures, and thro' all the Preliminaries, there was no other Hand but mine capable of finiſhing it; and therefore they preſag'd me all the Glory of it; That I might reckon upon all the Facility their Maſter cou'd give towards it; but that after ſuch Succeſſes in the War, and at the Head of ſo great Forces both at Land and Sea, it cou'd not be expected he ſhou'd yield to reſtore what his Arms had conquer'd. On t'other Side, they knew very well, that tho' the

States were bent upon the Peace, yet the Frowardneſs or extravagant Demands of their Allies, wou'd engage them as long as they cou'd in the War, unleſs the Prince of ORANGE wou'd interpoſe his Authority, which was ſo great with all the Allies, that they were ſure of their conſenting to whatever Terms the Prince ſhou'd be reſolute in propoſing for the Peace: That to draw it therefore to a happy Iſſue, there was no Way but for His Highneſs firſt to agree privately with *France* upon the Conditions, and what every Party ſhou'd content themſelves with; and afterwards, in the Courſe of the Treaty, to draw all things, by Concert together, to the Scope agreed between them; in which the Prince might make uſe of the known Temper of the States to bring it to a ſudden Iſſue, and to make a Separate Peace, in caſe the unreaſonable Pretences of their Allies ſhou'd hinder or delay a General one: That this Part was acted by the Elector of BAVARIA at *Münſter*, who was in private Concert with *France* thro' the whole Proceedings of that Treaty, tho' he went on with the Allies in the publick Tranſactions: That he ow'd the Greatneſs of his Houſe to this Counſel, and to the Conſideration and Support it had ever ſince receiv'd from the Crown of *France*: That by purſuing the ſame at *Nimeguen*, it wou'd be in the Prince of ORANGE's Power to do the ſame for himſelf and his Family;

and that for what concern'd his own perſonal Intereſts and Advantages, their Maſter had given them power to aſſure him, He ſhould have *Carte Blançhe*, and draw his own Conditions upon it. That tho' they had other Ways of making this Overture to the Prince, yet they had order to do it by none but me, if I would charge my ſelf with it; That they knew the Credit and Confidence I was in with the Prince, and how far he would deferr to my opinions in what concern'd the Publick Intereſts of his Allies as well as his own; And that if I would eſpouſe this Affair, beſides the Glory of having alone given a Peace to *Chriſtendom*, I might reckon upon what I pleas'd my ſelf from the Bounty and Generoſity of the King their Maſter.

THIS was the Sum of what was ſaid by them both, tho' in ſeveral and private Viſits; but I obſerv'd Monſieur COLBERT to have been inſtructed with more particular Confidence, and to deſign It with me, even apart from both his Colleagues and mine, in the purſuit of this Intelligence; but Monſieur D'ESTRADES valued himſelf chiefly upon his entring into it with me preferable to all others, tho' he had ſeveral other ways of doing it with the Prince, as well as into what Practices he ſhould think fit with the States, by the help of ſo many Friendſhips and Habitudes as I knew he had contracted in *Holland* during ſo long a courſe of employments there.

I anſwer'd, That I was oblig'd to his Moſt Christian Majeſty for his good opinion, and to them for giving it him, not having my ſelf at all the Honour of being known to him; That I ſhould make no ill uſe of this great Honour and Confidence, whether I ſhould be able to make a good one or not: That for his Majeſty's diſpoſitions to promote the Peace, they knew them as well as I; but that many conſiderations had engag'd him to inſtruct us the Mediators only to promote a general Peace, and not to enter into any paces towards any particular one, or ſeparate, between the Parties, which ſuch a private and previous Concert between *France* and the Prince of ORANGE, would look very like; and therefore I did not ſee how I could enter upon it without particular Orders from the King; That beſides, I would confeſs to them, that I did not think they would be of any great effect ſhould I receive ſuch Orders; and that the beſt Service I could do them (the Ambaſſadors) was to let them know very freely all that I knew, or at leaſt thought of the Prince of ORANGE, and his diſpoſitions in this great Affair, that they might the better gueſs what paces to expect from him; That I was ſure he deſir'd the Peace as much as the States could do; that the weak Conduct of *Spain*, and diſtracted Counſels of the Empire, were enough to force him upon it, without many other circumſtances that were too well known to trouble them with. That the Prince knew very well there would be no difficulty at all in the Terms of a Peace between *France* and *Holland*, and that all would ariſe from their Allies, who had entred into the War only in their Defence; That their Faith and Honour were ſince engag'd by many Treaties concluded with them, and which hindred them from making any ſeparate Peace; That in all thoſe Treaties the Prince's Honour was more particularly engag'd, upon which perſonally the ſeveral Confederate Princes were known to rely more, than upon any publick Reſolution or Inſtrument of the States. That if any ways could be found, or offers made towards bringing his Highneſs out of this War, with the ſafety of his Honour, by the ſatisfaction of his Allies, upon any ſort of Terms, I was ſure he would fall into them with all the Joy that could be; but to break from them againſt all Faith and Agreements, by ſeparate meaſures, I believ'd he would never be induc'd, but by the laſt extremities of the War, or neceſſities at home; And that for his own Perſonal Intereſts, I was confident no advantages to be offer'd him, would ever be conſider'd by his Highneſs, how great ſoever; but that two or three Towns, more or leſs, to the *Spaniards*, for the ſtrength of their Frontier in *Flanders*, would prevail more with him than all could be done for his Intereſt in *Orange* or *Burgundy*; and that all other Propoſitions of Advantages more than were avow'd in the courſe of the Treaty, were, I believ'd, what he would take ill from any that ſhould make them; and yet whenever I ſaw him next, I would tell him of all that had paſs'd in this Converſation: But for the Deference they believ'd his Highneſs might have for my Sentiments, I would aſſure them, my Opinion was, he had none for mine, or any Man's elſe, further than as their Arguments prevail'd upon his Judgment: That he had Senſe enough to govern himſelf, and I believ'd he would always truſt to it, tho' he might adviſe with other men.

AFTER theſe Converſations, during the time I ſtay'd at *Nimeguen*, Monſieur COLBERT made many ſmall Attacks of this kind upon me, and ſometimes contented himſelf only to let fall ſome things in Converſation, to try if I was diſpos'd to enter further upon that ſubject: But the Mareſchal D'ESTRADES immediately after began to turn his Battery another way, which was upon the Penſioner FAGEL, by the intervention of a Perſon of *Maeſtricht*, many of whoſe Letters the Penſioner ſhew'd me upon the ſame occaſion; and with all the Offers that could be made of Conſideration and Advantage to the Intereſts of the Prince of ORANGE; which met with no other Reception from his Highneſs than what I foretold.

AFTER the firſt Viſits between us and the *French* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, whom only we found at *Nimeguen*, we receiv'd a Viſit from the Magiſtrates of the Town, who told us, they had order from the States to remit the Government of the City to our diſpoſition, during the preſent Treaty; and to proceed no otherwiſe in it, than according to ſuch Orders as they ſhould receive from us the Mediators. We told them, It was his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that we ſhould not at all intermeddle with it, but that on the contrary, we ſhould conſign into the hands of the ordinary Juſtice of the Town, any of our Domeſticks that ſhould be guilty of any Crime againſt the Peace or Government of the place; and that Juſtice ſhould be done upon them, according to their Faults; and that we ſhould not take upon us to withdraw or protect them from the ordinary courſe of Juſtice, by the Rights and Privileges of that Character his Majeſty had given us.

AFTER this we applied our ſelves to propoſe ſome Regulations for the order and quiet of ſo numerous an Aſſembly as this was like to prove, (in a Town but too ſtrait, and compos'd of narrow Streets) and to the eſtabliſhment of ſome compaſs of Neutral Country about it, for the convenience and divertiſement of the Company that ſhould compoſe it. For the firſt, we gave in a Paper to the *French* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, with certain Articles, to which we deſir'd their conſent; not doubting, but all others that ſhould come after, would eaſily fall into what they ſhould previouſly agree to upon our deſire. They were theſe, as we gave them in *French*, the Language uſed in all Conferences, and moſt Papers, that paſs'd in this Treaty.

1. *Que pour eviter les inconveniens qui pourroient arriver par le grand nombre de trains dans des rues qui ſont ſi etroites, & entre des coins ſi incommodes, Les Ambaſſadeurs Mediateurs propoſent, De ne faire les viſites, meſme celles de Ceremonie, qu'avec chacun Ambaſſadeur deux Pages & quatre Laquais; & un Caroſſe, à deux Chevaux; & de n'aller à aucune place de Conference, ou autres lieux publics avec plus d'un Page & deux Laquais à chaque Ambaſſadeur.*

1. *That for avoiding the Inconveniences which may happen by the great number of Trains in the Streets, which are ſo narrow, and Turnings ſo incommodious, the Ambaſſadors Mediators propoſe, Not to make any Viſits, even thoſe of Ceremony, with more than Two Pages and Four Lackeys each Ambaſſador; and one Coach, with two Horſes; and not to go to any Place of Conference, or other publick places, with more than one Page and two Lackeys to every Ambaſſador.*

2. Qu'en cas de rencontre de Caroſſes dans les lieux trop eſtroits pour le paſſage de l'un & de l'autre, chacun, au lieu de s'embarraſſer pour le pas, y apportera toute ſorte de facilité, & s'arreſtera le premier quand il ſera le premier averti que le paſſage eſt trop eſtroit, & fera place en cas que de ſon coſté cela ſe trouve le plus facile.

2. That when Coaches meet in too narrow places, where there is not room to paſs by one another, every one, inſtead of contending for Precedency ſhall mind rather to make the paſſage eaſie to each other, and ſtop firſt if he have the firſt notice that the paſsage is too ſtreight, and give place to the other, in caſe it be more eaſy on his ſide.

3. Que les Laquais ne porteront eſpee, bâton ni baguette, par les rues, ni les Pages plus que de baguette ſeulement.

3. That Lackeys ſhall not wear a ſword, nor carry a ſtaff or ſtick in the ſtreets; nor Pages any more than a little ſtick.

4. Que les Ambaſſadeurs ſur aucun crime commis par aucun de leurs domeſtiques contre la paix publique, renonceront à la protection des dits domeſtiques, et les remettront auſſitoſt entre les mains de la Juſtice de la ville,

4. That the Ambaſſadors, upon any Crime committed againſt the publick Peace, by any of their Domeſticks, ſhall renounce all Protection of the ſaid Domeſticks, and deliver them up into the hands of the Magiſtrates of the City;

la prians et autoriſans de proceder contre eux ſelon les regles ordinaires.

5. Qu'en cas de quelque inſulte ou querelle faite par aucun de leurs domeſtiques contre ceux d'aucun autre Ambaſſadeur ou Miniſtre Public, Les Ambaſſadeurs remettront tels domeſtiques entre les mains du Maiſtre de la Partie offenſee pour eſtre punis à ſa diſcretion.

deſiring and authorizing them to proceed againſt them according to their ordinary rules.

5. That in caſe any inſult or quarrel be made by the Domeſticks of one Ambaſſador, againſt thoſe of another Ambaſſador or publick Miniſter, the Ambaſſadors, ſhall deliver up ſuch their Domeſticks into the hands of the Maſter of the Party offended, to be puniſh'd at his diſcretion.

The *French* Ambaſſadors receiv'd this Paper with much Approbation and Compliment to us, upon the deſign and conception of it, and ſaid they were ready to give their full conſent to every part of it, excepting only the ſecond Article; but upon this they could not, without firſt acquainting their Maſter, from whom they had orders to maintain, upon all occaſions, the Rank that *Spain* had yielded to them by Treaty; ſo that they could not ſtop or make way for the Miniſters of that Crown, tho' they would do it for thoſe of *Brandenburg*. We told them, we doubted not but the Emperour's Ambaſſadors would be content to fall into the General Rule for ſo good an end; and that for our ſelves the Mediators, (who were out of all Competition by that Quality,) we reſolv'd to practice it with the reſt, and give the Example.

THE *French* Ambaſſadors ſeem'd ſatisfied, in their own Opinions; but however, deſir'd they might firſt communicate it to their Court. The *Dutch* Ambaſſadors wholly approv'd it, and reſolv'd to conform their practice accordingly, unleſs they found other Ambaſſadors ſhould decline it. However, about a Fortnight after, the *French* Ambaſſadors, upon Diſpatches from their Court, began to change their Language; and told us, That for the firſt Article, Monſieur DE POMPONE thought it not neceſſary to reſtrain the Numbers of Ambaſſadors Trains, ſince they were well provided againſt Diſorders by the following Articles: That Beſides, this would in a manner level the Ambaſſadors of the greateſt Kings with the Miniſters of ſmaller Princes, at leaſt in the eyes of the *menu peuple* [*the Vulgar*], who meaſure the Dignity of Perſons by the Train that attend them. For the ſecond Article, they conſented to it, with an Apoſtyle of their own upon it, providing, that it ſhould not prejudice the Rights of any Princes, nor ever be drawn into conſequence in any other place or time: We found by theſe Anſwers,

Anſwers; That the *French* Ambaſſadors had leſs Vanity than their Court, and wonder'd to find it ſo avow'd, and to deſcend to Circumſtances ſo low and ſo minute: For tho' Vanity be a Weakneſs, or a Fault, that the feweſt Men are without; yet it is that of all others that the feweſt will own; and few private Men, tho' perhaps affected with the Gazes and Opinion of the Rabble that fill the Streets as they paſs, will yet pretend or confeſs to conſider them. However, we thought beſt to let it paſs, and the rather, becauſe we knew it was no more the Senſe of the *French* Ambaſſadors than ours; for which they had one more particular Reaſon, which was the Noiſe that ran of the magnificent Preparations and Equipage deſign'd by the Marqueſs DE BALBACES and Count ANTOINE towards their Appearance in this Congreſs; the Firſt whereof was one of the richeſt Subjects of *Spain*, Heir and Deſcendent of the Famous SPINOLA; and the other had great Revenues from the Duke of OLDENBURG (being his Natural Son), and was choſen by *Denmark* on Purpoſe to appear with Luſtre in this Ambaſſy: And the *French* Ambaſſadors apprehended, either being outſhined by theſe at their Arrival, or being engag'd in greater Expences upon the Vye than they expected from their Court; which uſually leaves thoſe kinds of Services to future Rewards, by ſucceeding Employments and Advances, rather than preſent Supplies. When we receiv'd this Anſwer from them, we only ſaid Monſieur POMPONE's reaſoning from the *menu Peuple* [*the Vulgar*], ſeem'd a little below the Greatneſs of his Maſter, or the Style of a Great Miniſter; but that we ſhou'd acquaint the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors with it, that they might be at Liberty to retract the Conſent they had already given, ſince they, the *French*, ſeem'd to have done ſo; but that, for our ſelves, we wou'd obſerve at leaſt the Rules we had propos'd to others, and let them follow either the Rules or Examples as they pleas'd. The *French* wou'd by no Means allow to have refus'd them, and ſaid, They had only told us Monſieur POMPONE's Reflections upon them; but that they cou'd not abſolutely conſent 'till they had concerted with their Allies, the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors, whoſe Arrival they daily expected. However, tho' they were by theſe wholly approv'd, yet the *French* Ambaſſadors, during the Aſſembly, made all their firſt Viſits with the Three ſeveral Ambaſſadors Coaches and Six Horſes, and the whole Number of their Train; which ſometimes reach'd further than the Space between their Houſes, and of the Miniſters where the Viſit was paid. But we continu'd to make ours only with Two Horſes, and the Number of Servants we had propos'd; and the reſt of the Rules were obſerv'd by all with ſo good Effect, that for one whole Year I reſided there together, there never happen'd any Diſorder or Complaint from ſo numerous Trains.

FOR the Neutral Country, we at firſt propos'd, by Concert with the *French* Ambaſſadors, to extend it about Three Leagues, ſo as to take in the Town of *Cleves*, which has been always celebrated for one of the pleaſanteſt Seats of *Germany*; but upon tranſmitting this Propoſal to the *French* Court, a Reſolution came back to their Ambaſſadors to admit only Two Leagues from *Nimeguen*, and That to continue ſubject to Contribution, and to Execution upon Failure of that being paid, as was uſual to the Garriſon of *Maeſtricht*. This we thought unpracticable, with the Safety of the Ambaſſadors or their Retinues, that ſhou'd make uſe of a Neutrality ſubject to Inroads of arm'd Troops upon Pretence of Contribution, and admitted of many Diſputes. The *French* Ambaſſadors had Orders from their Court, to go out of Town upon any Occaſion of Airing and Entertainment; The *Dutch* deſir'd us to let the *French* know, the States cou'd not be anſwerable for their doing it ſafely, till a Neutral Country were eſtabliſh'd without being liable to Contribution. After ſome Time, rather than continue Priſoners to the Town, or venture the Inconvenience and Danger of Parties ranging within the Bounds of a Neutral Country, a Compaſs was agreed, about Two *Engliſh* Miles from the Town; and mark'd out with ſeveral great Poſts erected to that Purpoſe, within which all Perſons ſhou'd have Liberty, and no Soldier ſhou'd be ſuffer'd to come in upon any Pretext whatſoever.

SEVERAL Pretenſions were rais'd at the Opening of this Congreſs (which was reckon'd from the Time of Two Mediators Arrival upon the Place) about the Right of ſeveral Princes to ſend Ambaſſadors, and many Diſputes aroſe upon them. It had been agreed at the Treaty of *Munſter*, that every Elector ſhou'd be allow'd to ſend a Miniſter thither, with the Character of Ambaſſador; but if they ſent more than One in Commiſſion, that the Firſt only ſhou'd be treated with Excellence, and other Ceremonies of Ambaſſadors. This Rule we agreed to follow at *Nimeguen*: And the Elector of BRANDENBURG ſent Two Ambaſſadors thither; but we treated the Firſt only with the uſual Ceremonies, and left the other to his Pretences and Complaints. The *French* follow'd our Example; and the other Ambaſſadors did ſome One, ſome the Other, according as their Intereſts engag'd them to comply with that Elector in this Pretence.

UPON Admiſſion of the Electors to ſend Ambaſſadors to the Congreſs, the ſame Pretence was ſoon after rais'd by the Dukes of LORRAIN, NEUBURG, and LUNENBURG:

NENBURG: Much Altercation was us'd upon this Subject; but the Preſidents alledg'd, not being ſound without Diſpute, the Thing lay quiet, and their Envoys arriv'd after ſome Time at *Nimeguen*.

WE agreed neither to give the firſt Viſit, nor the Hand, in our Houſes, to any Character under that of Ambaſſador; nor to other Perſons of Quality, that were not either Counts of the Empire, or General Officers of Armies.

THERE was no Diſpute about the Rank with the Mediators, the *French* having firſt yielded it by Order of their Court, till the *Imperialiſts* came; who neither yielded nor refus'd it, but ſeem'd deſirous to have that Mark of Diſtinction allow'd between the Emperor's Ambaſſadors and thoſe of all other Crown'd Heads. We held on our Pretence of it from theſe, as well as the reſt; but kept it from coming to any Deciſion till the very ſigning of the Treaty; finding the Emperor not inclin'd to yield it, and knowing that if it were refus'd there, the Admiſſion granted by the reſt might come to be retracted upon that Example.

THE other Ambaſſadors were left to their uſual Pretences: The *French*, That All ſhou'd yield to them; and the reſt, of None yielding to one another; in which the *Swedes* carried the Point, even with their Allies the *French*, as nicely and poſitively as any others.

THE *Swedes* arriv'd about the Middle of *Auguſt*, ſent firſt to us, and then to the *French*, to notify their Arrival. This happen'd late in the Evening; ſo we deferr'd our Compliments and Deſires of an Hour till next Morning. The *French* made theirs the ſame Night to Monſieur OXENSTIERN, firſt in Commiſſion; who gave them an Hour the next Morning; and to our Secretaries, who came to them about that Time, they gave an Hour in the Afternoon. The Viſits were made accordingly: But upon our inſiſting that the firſt Viſit ought to be return'd to the Mediators, from whomſoever the firſt ſhou'd be receiv'd; the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors, after ſome Time to conſider it, determin'd the Point, and made us the firſt Viſit, tho' the *French* had firſt made it to them. And this was obſerv'd by the Ambaſſadors that afterwards arriv'd during my Reſidence there.

I remember no other Points of the Ceremonial that ſeem to have been eſtabliſh'd by the Courſe of this Aſſembly; unleſs it was one particular to our ſelves, who declar'd that we wou'd dine with no Ambaſſador till the Peace was concluded, being deſirous to avoid the Trouble and Engagements of perpetual Invitations, as well as the Unkindneſs of Excuſes, at one Time, or to ſome Perſon, more than another; but our own Tables were open, each of us Three Days in the Week, Two Poſt-days being reſerv'd to our ſelves for Buſineſs, and one for Diverſion or Exerciſe abroad; and ſeveral of the Ambaſſadors, eſpecially the *French*, came to our Tables, notwithſtanding this Reſolution, which they ſeem'd to take a little to heart. But to make Amends, we divided the Nights by Turns. Where there were any Ladies in the Ambaſſadors Houſes, and where the Evenings were ſpent in Dancing or Play, or careleſs and eaſy Suppers or Collations; in theſe Entertainments, as I ſeldom fail'd of making a Part, and my Colleague never had any; ſo it gave Occaſion for a good Saying that paſs'd upon it, *Que la Mediation eſtoit toujours en pied pour faire ſa function*, [*That the Mediation was always in a Poſture to go on with its Buſineſs*]: For I us'd to go to bed, and riſe late; while my Colleague was a bed by Eight, and up by Four: And to ſay Truth, Two more different Men were never joyn'd in one Commiſſion, nor agreed better in it.

FOR Buſineſs, there was very little for many Months after the Congreſs began, till the Arrival of the *Imperial* Miniſters; only the *French* Ambaſſadors, ſoon after my coming, demanding an Audience, came to make us the Offer of exhibiting their *Plein-Pouvoirs* [*Full Powers*] into our Hands, not doubting, as they ſaid, of the *Dutch* being ready to do the ſame. But upon our acquainting the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors with this Overture, they told us, That it was in the Choice of the *French* Ambaſſadors to do it when they pleas'd; but they did not conceive the haſtening of it wou'd gain any Time, ſince they had no Orders to make that Pace without a previous Concert with their Allies; and conſequently, tho' the *French* ſhou'd do it, yet they wou'd, at preſent, neither exhibit their own, nor make any Reflections (as might be neceſſary) upon thoſe of the *French*. From this Anſwer, the *French* took Occaſion to preſs the *Dutch* extreamly upon making Inſtances to all their Allies to haſten to the Treaty, or elſe to declare that they wou'd enter into Affair without them; and not without ſome Intimation of their Maſter's being reſolv'd to recall them, in caſe this was refus'd or much longer delay'd. The *Dutch* excus'd the Retardments given to the Treaty ſo long, by the many Difficulties rais'd by the *French* Court upon Occaſion of the Paſſports, which were not yet diſpatch'd to ſome of their new Allies; but however promis'd to acquaint the States with theſe Inſtances, and endeavour to diſpoſe them to fix ſome Time, by which they wou'd order their Ambaſſadors to enter into Matter, unleſs the Miniſters of the Allies were arriv'd at *Nimeguen*.

IN theſe, and ſeveral other Points, interceding between the *French* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, we carried the Propoſals and Anſwers from one to the other, at their Houſes, by Word of Mouth; which continu'd till the

Aſſembly was compleated, and a Place of Conference, with much Difficulty, agreed at the Stadthouſe of *Nimeguen*; where, after many Difficulties between the Two Confederacies, and many more between the Parties that compos'd each of them, Two Chambers were at length agreed for the Parties, and One for the Mediators, by which our Pains was leſſen'd, but without other Advantage. Nor was there any Point that gave us more Trouble than the adjuſting this among the Parties; for the *French* were from the very firſt moſt declaredly averſe from treating, either by Writings, or from agreeing to a Place of publick Conference; conceiving this wou'd tend to keep the Body of the Confederacy united in the Treaty, as well as the War; whereas their Deſign was to break that Union here, which they cou'd not in the Field; and find ſome Way or other of entring into ſeparate Meaſures for a Peace with ſome of the Parties engag'd. In the mean Time the Allies found, or took, as many Occaſions as they cou'd of delaying the Diſpatch of their Miniſters to the Congreſs, while they had Hopes of hindering the *Dutch* from proceeding without them; and That they believ'd might be done till this Campaign ſhou'd end; from the Events whereof the ſeveral Princes might the better take their Meaſures for the Conditions of a Peace that ſhou'd be propos'd or inſiſted on in this

Treaty. And this Diſpoſition of theirs was ſo well purſu'd, that no other Ambaſſadors arriv'd at *Nimeguen* till *November*; tho' we, and the *French*, and the *Dutch*, had been ſo long upon the Place, and the *Swedes* ſoon after us.

IN the mean Time the Succeſſes of the Campaign, that were expected abſolutely to govern the Motions of the Treaty, were various as to the Groſs of the War; but ran as high to the Advantage of the *French*, as to the Diſadvantage of the *Swediſh* Affairs. By Force of great Treaſures, and the great Order in diſpoſing them, the *French* Magazines were always fill'd in the Winter, ſo as to enable them to take the Field as they pleas'd in the Spring, without fearing the Weather for their Foot, or expecting Graſs for their Horſe. On t'other Side, the *Spaniards* Want of Money and Order, left their Troops in *Flanders*, neither capable to act by themſelves upon any ſudden Attempt, nor to ſupply with Proviſions in their March either *Dutch* or *Germans* that ſhou'd come to their Relief. Their Towns were ill fortify'd, and worſe defended; ſo that the King of *France* marching in the Head of a brave and numerous Army, took *Conde* in Four Days in the Month of *April* this Year 1676, before any of the Confederates were in the Field; and in *May* ſent the Duke of ORLEANS to beſiege *Bouchain* with ſome Part of his Troops, being

ing a ſmall, tho' ſtrong Place, and very conſiderable for its Situation to the Defence of the *Spaniſh* Netherlands. The King, with the Strength of his Army, poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly, as to hinder the Prince of ORANGE from being able to relieve it, or to fight without Diſadvantage.

THE Prince ſtruggled through all the Difficulties from the Seaſon, or Want of Proviſions and Magazines in *Flanders*, and marched with his Army in ſight of the *French* King by the Middle of *May*. The Armies continu'd ſome Days facing one another, and ſeveral Times drawing out in Order to a Battel, which neither of them thought fit to begin; whether not willing to hazard, without Neceſſity or Advantage, ſo deciſive an Action as this was like to prove; or whether the *French* contented themſelves to carry their Point by hindring the Relief of *Bouchain*, which muſt fall without it; while the Prince of ORANGE, was withheld by the *Spaniards* from purſuing his, which was to give a Battel that the *Spaniards* knew cou'd not be loſt without the Loſs of *Flanders*. The Armies continu'd facing one another till *Bouchain* was ſurrendred the Eighth Day of the Siege. The Prince return'd to refreſh his Army, harraſs'd with ſo haſty a March upon ſo ſudden Preparations; and the King of *France* return'd home, leaving his Army under the Marſhal DE SCHOMBERG, to attend the Motions of the Enemies. The Prince fell into Concert with the *Spaniards* and *German* Princes near the lower *Rhine* for the Siege of *Maeſtricht*; which, tho' the ſtrongeſt of the *Dutch* Frontiers when it was taken, had been yet fortify'd by the *French* ſince they poſſeſs'd it with all the Advantages of Art and Expence, and with a Garriſon of Eight Thouſand choſen Men, under CALVO, a reſolute *Catalonian*, who commanded there under the Marſhal D' ESTRADES Governour of the Place, but then at *Nimeguen*.

ABOUT the End of *July* the Trenches were open'd by the Prince, and the Siege carried on with ſuch Bravery, ſo many and deſperate Aſſaults for about Three Weeks; that as Wagers were continually offer'd, with Odds, at *Nimeguen*, that it wou'd be taken within ſuch or ſuch a Time, ſo we did not obſerve the Marſhal D' ESTRADES was willing to take them, or ſeem'd at all confident it wou'd be ſo well defended. The Prince, or the RHINGRAVE (who was deſign'd for Governour of the Town, as his Father had been) was ever in the Head of the Attacks; and made great Uſe, as well as Proof of the deſperate Courage of the *Engliſh* Troops, upon all thoſe Occaſions: Many of the Outworks were taken, with great Slaughter on both Sides; but were ſupplied by new Retrenchments, and by all the Art and Induſtry of a reſolute Captain, and brave Soldiers, within. About the Middle of *Auguſt*, the Prince, expoſing himſelf upon all Occaſions, receiv'd a Musket-ſhot in his Arm; at which perceiving thoſe about him were daunted, he immediately pull'd off his Hat with the Arm that was hurt, and waved it about his Head, to ſhew the Wound was but in the Fleſh, and the Bone ſafe; at which they all reviv'd, and the Prince went on without Interruption in all the Paces of the Siege. But a cruel Sickneſs falling into his Army, weaken'd it more than all the Aſſaults they had given the Town. The *Germans* came not up with the Supplies they had promis'd, and upon which Aſſurance the Siege was undertaken; and the RHINGRAVE, who next the Prince, was the Spring of this Action, happening to be wounded ſoon after, was forc'd to leave the Camp for a Caſtle in the Neighbourhood, where he died: By all which the Army grew diſheartned, and the Siege faint. In the mean Time Monſieur DE SCHOMBERG, who truſted to a vigorous Defence at *Maeſtricht*, had beſieg'd and taken *Aire*; and after the Prince's Army was weaken'd by the Accidents of the Siege, march'd with all the *French* Forces through the Heart of the *Spaniſh* Low-Countries, to the Relief of *Maeſtricht*; upon whoſe Approach, and the Reſolutions of a Council of War in the Prince's Camp, the Siege was rais'd, and with it the Campaign ended in the *Dutch* or *Spaniſh* Provinces. And from this Time the Prince of ORANGE began to deſpair of any Succeſs in the War, after ſuch Trials and Experience of ſuch Weakneſs in the *Spaniſh* Forces and Conduct, and Uncertainty in the *German* Counſels or Reſolutions.

HOWEVER, the Imperial Army took *Philipsburg* in the End of *September* this Year 1676; which was yielded for want of Proviſions, and as much againſt common Opinion and Expectation, as the contrary Event in the Siege of *Maeſtricht*.

THE Affairs of *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* proſper'd all this while againſt *Sweden*, with Advantage in moſt of the Sieges and Encounters that paſs'd this Summer and the firſt Part of the Winter following, ſo that the *Swedes* ſeem'd to be loſing apace all they had ſo long poſſeſs'd in *Germany*: But the *Imperial* Forces, tho' joyn'd by thoſe of the ſeveral Princes upon the Upper *Rhine*, had made no Progreſs in their deſign'd Conqueſts there, and were forc'd to ſeek their old Quarters on the *German* Side of the *Rhine* upon the Approach of the *French*, which was a true and undiſputed Deciſion of the ſmall Succeſs of this Campaign.

AFTER it was ended, the Parties engag'd in the War began to turn their Thoughts, or at leaſt their Eyes, more towards the Motions of the Treaty than they had hitherto done. The Prince of ORANGE writ to me, deſir'd to ſee me for a Day or Two at *Soesdyck* near *Amersfort*, about a Day's Journey from *Nimeguen*. He complain'd much, and with too much Reaſon, of the Conduct of his Allies; the Weakneſs, or rather Uſeleſneſs of the *Spaniſh* Troops in *Flanders*, for want of Pay or Order; the *Imperial* Army's acting without Deſign upon the *Rhine*, or with Dependance upon Orders from *Vienna*, where the Emulation of the Miniſters made ſuch Diſtraction, and Counter-paces of their Generals, that the Campaign had paſs'd with ſmall Effect, after the Promiſes of vigorouſly invading either *Lorrain* or *France*: How the Dukes of LUNENBURG had fail'd of ſending their Troops to *Maeſtricht*; which, with the Sickneſs of the Camp, had render'd that Siege ineffectual: So that he began to deſpair of any good Iſſue of the War; and wou'd be glad to hear I hop'd for a Better of the Peace, upon our Scene at *Nimeguen*, after the Paces and Progreſs whereof he made particular Enquiries. I told him how little Advances had been hitherto made, by the Slowneſs of his Allies diſpatching their Miniſters thither; how little Succeſs cou'd be expected from the Pretenſions of the Parties when they ſhou'd meet; eſpecially *France* pretending to keep all they had got by the War, and *Spain* to recover all they had loſt; how His Majeſty ſeem'd of the Mind to concern himſelf no further than the Paces of a Mediator, our Orders being only to convey the Mind or Propoſals of the Parties from one to another, and even to avoid the Offers of any References upon them to His Majeſty's Determination; ſo that my Opinion was, That it muſt be the War alone that muſt make the Peace, and That I ſupos'd it wou'd do at one Time or other, by the Weakneſs or Wearineſs of one of the Parties.

THE Prince ſeem'd of my Mind, and ſaid, The Events of the War wou'd depend upon the Conduct at *Madrid* and *Vienna* before next Campaign; for without ſome great Succeſſes, he did not believe the States wou'd be induc'd to continue it longer. I told the Prince the Diſcourſes Monſieur COLBERT had entertain'd me with upon my Arrival at *Nimeguen*, in which His Highneſs was chiefly concern'd. Upon which he reply'd coldly, He had heard enough of the ſame Kind another Way, which Monſieur D'ESTRADES had found out to Penſioner FAGEL; but that they knew him little that made him ſuch Overtures; and for his own Intereſts or Advantages, let them find a Way of ſaving his Honour, by ſatisfying *Spain*, and nothing of his Concerns ſhou'd retard the Peace an Hour.

AFTER my Return to *Nimeguen*, I found the *French* making all the Advances they cou'd towards the Progreſs of the Treaty; and they were (no doubt) in earneſt; for being in a Poſture to inſiſt upon their preſent Poſſeſſions, and having made a great Hand of this laſt Campaign, they were willing, like Gameſters that have won much, to give over, unleſs oblig'd to play on by thoſe that had loſt. The *Swedes* were more in Haſte and in Earneſt for the Peace than any, hoping no Reſource for their Loſſes in *Germany* by the War. The *Dutch* were grown impatient for the Peace, finding *France* wou'd make no Difficulty of any thing between them, offering privately by their Emiſſaries, eſpecially at *Amſterdam*, ſuch a Reglement of Commerce as they cou'd deſire, the Reſtitution of *Maeſtricht*, and of all Satisfaction the Prince of ORANGE cou'd pretend upon his Loſſes, or their Seiſures, in the War. But *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* were as violent againſt the Peace, having ſwallow'd up in their Hopes all that *Sweden* had poſſeſs'd in *Germany*: And tho' the Emperor ſeem'd to pretend little after the taking of *Philipsburg*, beſides the Reſtitution of *Lorrain*, and the Towns of *Alſace*, to the Poſture they were left in by the *Munſter* Treaty; yet they were ſo faſt link'd, both with their *German* Allies and with *Spain*, that they reſolv'd to make no Paces in the Treaty but by common Concert: And *Spain*, tho' ſenſible of the Condition their Affairs in *Flanders* were in, as well as in *Sicily*; yet upon a Deſign then hatching at *Madrid*, for Removal of the Queen Regent and her Miniſtry, to introduce DON JOHN to head the Affairs of their Government, had conceiv'd great Hopes to recover thoſe deſperate Infirmities that their inveterate Diſorders both in Counſels and Conduct, eſpecially in their Finances, had for ſo long Time occaſion'd. Beſides, they had Confidences ſtill given them from their Miniſters in *England*, that His Majeſty wou'd not, after all, be contented to ſee *Flanders* loſt, or wou'd be forc'd into the War by the Humour of his Parliament. For theſe Reaſons the Allies ſeem'd to make no Haſte at all to the Congreſs, and ſome of them hardly to look that Way; and none of the Parties were yet arriv'd, beſides the *French*, the *Swedes*, and the *Dutch*: But about the End of *September*, the *French* Ambaſſadors gave us Notice, That their Maſter having made ſo many Advances towards Peace, and being ſo ill ſeconded by the Proceedings of the Confederates, and their Slowneſs in coming to the Treaty, was reſolv'd to recall his Ambaſſadors, unleſs thoſe of the chief Confederates ſhou'd repair to *Nimeguen* within the Space of One Month.

THIS we communicated to the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, and they to the States; who, after ſome Conferences with the Miniſters of their Allies, came to a Reſolution, That they wou'd enter upon the Treaty themſelves, if the Miniſters of their Confederates ſhou'd not repair to *Nimeguen* by the Firſt of *November*; which was afterwards, upon ſome Diſputes, declar'd to be meant Old Stile, being that of the Place where the Congreſs was held.

THE Noiſe of this Reſolution of the States was more, among their Allies, than the Danger; ſince there were Ways enough to raiſe Difficulties, and ſpin out Time, after the Ambaſſadors ſhou'd arrive, as well as before; but yet it had ſo much Effect, that the ſeveral Confederates did upon it begin to haſten away one or other of their intended Ambaſſadors towards *Nimeguen* (as Count KINKSKI from *Vienna*, DON PEDRO RONQUILLO from *England*, where he then reſided as *Spaniſh* Envoy); but not the Perſons principally intruſted, or at the Head of their Ambaſſies; nor with Powers to proceed further than Preliminaries; and from *Denmark* Monſieur HEUG, without any News of Count ANTOINE's Preparation, who was appointed Chief of that Ambaſſy; any more than of the Biſhop of GURCK, or Marqueſs DE BALBACES, the Chiefeſt of thoſe deſign'd from the Emperor and *Spain*.

IN the mean Time the *Dutch* began to lay Load upon their Allies, for their Backwardneſs, ſo declar'd, in making any Paces towards the Treaty; to cavil upon the Obligations they were under of ſo many great Subſidies to ſo many Princes their Allies, for carrying on a War which the Allies purſu'd for their own ſeparate Intereſts or Ambition, tho' entred into perhaps at firſt for Defence of *Holland*, with whoſe Safety theirs were complicated. Hereupon their Miniſters, both at the *Hague* and *Nimeguen*, took the Liberty to ſay publickly, and upon ſeveral Occaſions, and in ſeveral Companies, That their Maſters wou'd pay no Subſidies to their Allies the next Campaign, unleſs, in the mean Time, they wou'd, by their fair and ſincere Proceedings in the Treaty, put the *French* in the Wrong, as their Expreſſion was.

THE *Swedes* had, as well as the *French*, offer'd to deliver us their Powers; but this was deferr'd by the *Dutch* to the Arrival of their Allies, till after the Firſt of *November* was elaps'd. The *French* began to preſs them upon it, in Conſequence of the States Reſolution; and after ſome little Demurrs, the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors agreed to deliver theirs. So by Concert, not without Difficulty, we agreed, That on the 21ſt of *November* the ſeveral Powers ſhou'd be brought to us the Mediators, by the ſeveral Ambaſſadors, at ſuch Hours as they ſhou'd ſeverally take from us; ſhou'd be depoſited in our Hands; and that we ſhou'd afterwards communicate the Originals mutually to the ſeveral Ambaſſadors at their Houſes, and leave Copies with them, atteſted by us the Mediators.

THIS was done accordingly; and the Morning after, the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors brought us an Account of ſeveral Exceptions they were forc'd to make againſt ſeveral Expreſſions in the *French* and *Swediſh* Prefaces to their Powers, which they ſaid were fitter for *Manifeſtoes* than for *Powers of a Treaty*, eſpecially thoſe of juſtifying the War and maintaining the Treaty of *Weſtphalia*. But the greateſt Streſs they laid, was upon a Clauſe in the *French* Powers, mentioning the Pope's Mediation; which they ſaid their Maſters cou'd never conſent to now, no more than they had at *Munſter*. To ſay Truth, tho' the gaining of Time for the Allies Coming might have ſome Part in theſe Exceptions of the *Dutch*, yet they were fram'd with great Art; and ſhew'd the great Quickneſs and Sharpneſs of Monſieur VAN BEVERNING's Apprehenſion, as well as his Skill and Experience in theſe kind of Affairs; being, I think, without Diſpute, the moſt practis'd and the ableſt Ambaſſador, of any I have ever met in the Courſe of my Employments.

THE *Dutch* Exceptions were return'd by others from the *French* and *Swedes*, againſt their Powers; but with Offer from both of entring into the Treaty, while theſe Matters ſhou'd be adjuſting. The *Dutch* accepted it, provided the *French* wou'd oblige themſelves to procure new Powers, free from the Exceptions rais'd againſt them, as the *Dutch* offer'd to do. After much Debate, they all agreed in deſiring us the Mediators to draw up a Form of Powers to be us'd by all the Parties: We did it, and it was approv'd by them all; with ſome Reſerve only from the *French*, whether it wou'd be fit to mention any Mediation, ſince that of the Pope's was left out; and ſome little Tentatives upon us, whether we wou'd be content to leave out all Mention of His Majeſty's Mediation, as well as that of the Pope's? This we excus'd our ſelves from doing, the whole Frame of the Congreſs having proceeded from His Majeſty's Mediation, without any Intervention of the Pope's; and the King's having been accepted by all the Parties, which the Pope's had not been; but on the contrary, the very Mention of it in the Powers, declar'd againſt by ſeveral of them. And by Orders we receiv'd from Court upon occaſion of this Diſpute, we declar'd to all the Parties, That tho' His Majeſty pretended not to exclude any other Mediation that the Parties ſhou'd think fit to uſe, yet he cou'd not in any wiſe act jointly with that of the Pope; nor ſuffer his Miniſters to enter into any Commerce either of Viſits or

Conferences, with any of His that might be employ'd at *Nimeguen*.

IN *November* arriv'd Monſieur HEUG, one of the *Daniſh* Ambaſſadors; Monſieur SOMNITZ and BLASPYL, the Two *Brandenburg* Ambaſſadors; Lord BERKLEY, from *Paris*; and ſoon after, DON PEDRO RONQUILLO, one of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors; but the laſt continu'd incognito till the Arrival of Count KINKSKI, who whether he had taken the Gout, or the Gout had taken him, continu'd upon that Pretence at *Cologne* till the new Year was begun.

THE *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador coming upon Viſits to my Wife, and meeting me there, found that Way of entring into the preſent Buſineſs of the Scene, as much as if he had been declar'd upon it. He agreed with the *French* in this one Point, of deſiring either the Pope's Mediation might be mention'd in their Powers; or that His Majeſty, in Conſideration of the Peace, wou'd ſuffer the Mention of His to be left out: But the *Dane*, on t'other Side, agreed with the *Dutch*, in refuſing to admit any Power with Mention of the Pope's Mediation. There aroſe likewiſe another Difficulty, from a ſeeming Expedient propos'd by the *Dutch*, of having from each Party ſeveral Powers granted for treating with the ſeveral Parties they were in War with; which the *French* refus'd, or to grant other Powers than for the *Dutch* and their

Allies: And in theſe Diſputes or Difficulties the Year 1676 ended.

I enter not at all into the Detail, or ſo much as Mention, of the many Incidents that fell into the courſe of this Treaty upon Punctilioes of Viſits or Ceremonials; becauſe they ſeem to me but ſo many Impertinencies that are grown this laſt Age into the Character of Ambaſſadors; having been rais'd and cultivated by men, who wanting other Talents to value themſelves upon in thoſe Imployments, endeavour'd to do it by exactneſs or niceties in the Forms; and beſides, they have been taken notice of by diſcourſes concerning this Treaty, and at one time or other may be exactly known by the Original Papers of our Ambaſſy, which are in two or three ſeveral Hands: Whereas I intend chiefly to declare the courſe of this great Affair, by the more material circumſtances, and from the true ſprings of thoſe events that ſucceeded, rather than trouble my ſelf with the Forms that ſerv'd to amuſe ſo long this Aſſembly at *Nimeguen*.

I ſhall only make two Obſervations upon the Ceremonial; the firſt is upon the Emperor's Conduct towards the *Brandenburg* Ambaſſadors; allowing his Miniſters to Treat them both like Ambaſſadors of Crown'd Heads, though we gave it only to the firſt of the Ambaſſy upon the Preſident of the *Munſter* Treaty, and were follow'd in it by the *French* and

Swedes in the whole courſe of this Treaty at *Nimeguen.* This Pace of the Emperor ſeem'd not ſo much grounded, as ſome thought, upon his compliance with ſo conſiderable an Ally, as upon a deſign to aſſiſt another Pretenſion of his own; which is, not only a difference of Place, but alſo of Rank from all other Crown'd Heads of *Chriſtendom*; Whereas the other Kings, though they yield him the Place, yet they do not allow him a difference of Rank. But if the Emperor could by his Example prevail with other Kings to Treat the Electors like Crown'd Heads, it would fortifie the Pretenſions of the Emperor to a difference of Rank; ſince there is a great one, and out of all conteſt between him and the Electors.

MY ſecond Remark is, That among all the Punctilioes between the Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, none ſeem'd to me to carry them to ſuch heights as the *Swedes* and the *Danes.* The firſt ſtanding as ſtiff upon all Points of not ſeeming to yield in the leaſt to the *French* Ambaſſadors, tho their Allies, and from a Crown not only of ſo mighty Power, but from whom alone they expected the reſtoring of their broken State in *Germany*; And the *Daniſh* Ambaſſador, upon the *French* Powers being exhibited in *French*, ſaid he would give his in *Daniſh*, unleſs they would do it in *Latin*, as a common Language; alledging he knew no difference between Crown'd Heads;

that the *Daniſh* Kings had been as great as the *French* are now, and in their preſent Dominions are as Abſolute. Upon all which Monſieur VAN BEVERNING could not forbear to reflect, and ſay to us, That in his Remembrance there was no ſort of Competition made by thoſe two Northern Kings with the other three great Kings of *Chriſtendom*; That the treatment of the States to them was very different, and their Miniſters made no difficulty of ſigning any Inſtruments after the Miniſters of the three Great Crowns. 'Tis, I think, out of queſtion, that the pretenſion of Parity among the Crown'd Heads, was firſt made in the North by GUSTAVUS, when he told Monſieur GRAMMONT the *French* Ambaſſador in *Sweden* upon this occaſion, That for his part he knew no diſtinction among Crown'd Heads, but what was made by their Virtue; And this Pretence was not much diſputed with him, in reſpect to the greatneſs of his Qualities, as well as of his Attempts and Succeſſes; and his example was follow'd by the Kings of *Denmark*, and has ſince left Place a thing conteſted among them all. 'Tis true, the *French* have claim'd the Precedence next to the Emperor, with more noiſe and haughtineſs than the reſt, but have been yielded to by none except the *Spaniards*, upon the Fear of a War they were not able to deal with; nor have they ſince been willing to own the weakneſs of that conceſſion,

ceſſion, but have choſen to fall into what meaſures they could of encouraging and eſtabliſhing the Pretence of Parity among Crown'd Heads. The moſt remarkable Inſtance of this happen'd at *Nimeguen*; where upon a publick meeting of the Allies, the Diſpute ariſing between *Spain* and *Denmark* for the place at Table, DON PEDRO conſented to have it taken by turns, and the firſt to be divided by lot. The *French* Ambaſſadors made their pretence of preference next the Mediators at *Nimeguen*, in the firſt return of their Viſits from Ambaſſadors arriving; but 'twas neither yielded to by *Swede* or *Dane*, nor Practic'd by the Emperor's Ambaſſadors, who made their firſt Viſit to the Mediators, and the next without diſtinction to the firſt that had viſited them. The Emperor took advantage of the *French*, as well as the reſt, having yielded to the Mediators; and during this Treaty made a ſcruple, tho' not a refuſal, of doing it; by which he diſtinguiſh'd himſelf from the other Crown'd Heads. We were content to keep it, as much as we could, from deciſion with them; but it once happen'd, that upon a Meeting with the Allies at the *Dane's* Houſe, Count KINKSKI was there before I and Sir LIONEL came into the Room, where Chairs were ſet for all the Ambaſſadors. After the common Salutations, I went ſtrait up to the Chair that was firſt in Rank, and ſtood before it, to ſit down when the reſt were ready; but my Colleague, either loſing his time by being engag'd in longer Civilities, or by a deſire not to be engag'd in Conteſts, gave room to Count KINKSKI (a very briſk Man) to come and ſtand before the Chair that was next me, and conſequently between me and my Colleague: When I ſaw this, and conſider'd, that tho' the Place was given me by the Imperaliſts, yet it was not given to the King's Ambaſſy; I choſe not to ſit down; but falling into the Conference that was intended, I ſtood all the while as if I did it careleſly, and ſo left the Matter undecided.

THE Prince of ORANGE about the latter End of *December*, writ very earneſtly to me, to make a Step for ſome few Days to the *Hague*, knowing I had leave from His Majeſty to do it when I thought fit. And finding all things without preſent Motion at *Nimeguen*, I went thither, and arriv'd the laſt day of the Year. The firſt of the next being 1677, I attended His Highneſs: We fell into large Diſcourſes of the Progreſs of the Treaty, the Coldneſs of the Parties, the affected Delays of the *Imperialiſts* and *Spaniards*, the declar'd Averſion of the *Danes* and *Brandenburgh*; and concluded how little was to be expected from the formal Paces of this Congreſs. Upon all which the Prince ask'd, if I had heard any more of His Majeſty's Mind, upon the Peace, ſince I had been laſt with him? I told him what I remember'd of his laſt Letter to me upon that Subject; which was, That he concluded from the Prince's Diſcourſes to me, that he had then no mind to Peace; that he was ſorry for it, becauſe he thought it was his Intereſt to have it: That he had try'd to know the Mind of *France* upon it; but if they would not open themſelves farther on one ſide, nor His Highneſs on the other, than they had yet done, he would content himſelf with performing only His Part of Mediator, and in the Common Forms. The Prince ſaid, This look'd very cold, ſince His Majeſty was alone able to make the Peace, and knew well enough what it would come to by the Forms of the Congreſs. That for his own part, he deſir'd it, and had a great deal of reaſon; both becauſe His Majeſty ſeem'd to do ſo, and to think it his own Intereſt as well as the Prince's; and becauſe the States not only thought it their Intereſt, but abſolutely neceſſary for them. That he would not ſay this to any but to the King by me; becauſe if *France* ſhould know it, they would, he doubted, be harder upon the Terms: That both *Spain* and the Emperor had leſs Mind to it now, than they had at the End of the laſt Campaign; the new Miniſters being leſs inclin'd to it than the old had been; ſo that there was not one of the Allies that had any Mind to it, beſides the States. That for his own Part, he ſhould be always in the ſame Mind with them, and therefore very much deſir'd it; but did not know which way to go about it, at leaſt ſo as to compaſs it before the next Campaign. And if that once began, they ſhou'd be all at Sea again, and ſhou'd be forc'd to go juſt as the Wind ſhou'd drive them: That if His Majeſty had a Mind to make it, and wou'd let him know freely the Conditions upon which either he deſir'd or believ'd it might be made, he wou'd endeavour to concert it the beſt he cou'd with His Majeſty, and that with all the Freedom and Sincerity in the World; ſo it might be done with any Safety to his own Honour, and the Intereſts of his Country.

ALL this he deſir'd me to write directly to His Majeſty from him, as he knew I had not only Leave, but Command to do upon any Occaſion that I thought deſerv'd it.

TWO Days after, I ſaw the Penſioner FAGEL upon ſome common Affairs incident to my Ambaſſy at the *Hague*, which had been left in the Hands of the Secretary of that Ambaſſy. When theſe Diſcourſes were paſt, he ask'd me if I had brought them Peace from *Nimeguen*? I replied, That ſince he was ſo ignorant of what had paſs'd there, I wou'd tell him, That they had carried their Matters there *En habiles gens* [*Like able Men*]: That to bring their Allies to the Congreſs, they had pretended to treat by the

Firſt of *November*, whether they came or not: That after that Day paſs'd, they had found Fault with the Powers exhibited, had offer'd at new, made the Mediators courſe from one to t'other, ſpun out Two Months Time in theſe Paces, and thereby were gotten in ſight both of *Spaniſh* and *Imperial* Miniſters, which I ſuppos'd was the Point they always intended, and afterwards to keep Pace with them. The Penſioner anſwer'd me, with ſomething in his Face both ſerious and ſad, That either I did not know them, and the Courſe of their Affairs ſince I left the *Hague*, or elſe I wou'd not ſeem to know them: That they not only deſir'd the Peace from their Hearts, but thought it abſolutely neceſſary for them: That they wou'd certainly have enter'd into the Treaty at the Time, if the *French* had either exhibited Powers in a Form to be at all admitted, or wou'd have oblig'd themſelves to procure new ones; nay, That they wou'd not inſiſt upon a Peace according to their Allies Pretenſions, nor cou'd he anſwer that they wou'd not make a ſeparate one. I ſaid, That was a Matter of ſuch Moment, as I was ſure they wou'd think of it another Year before they did it. With this he drew up his Chair cloſer to me, and began a Diſcourſe with more Heat and Earneſtneſs than agreed well with the Poſture of Health he was in; ſaying, firſt, That they had thought enough of it already; and with thinking much, had begun to find it was without Remedy: That they had great Obligations to *Spain*, for entring into the War to ſave their Country, and thereby to ſave *Flanders* too; but they had made them no ill Return, by continuing it now Three Years only for the Intereſts of *Spain*, ſince there remain'd nothing of Conſequence between *France* and them: That they had further engag'd themſelves to carry it on this following Year, and ſo wou'd have done with the Forces they did the laſt, if their Allies had perform'd the Parts they had likewiſe engag'd; but for *Spain*, they took no Care, but to let them ſee they were reſolv'd to periſh: That they had ſent their Fleet home from *Sicily*, without the Payments agreed on; and left them to be paid by the States at their Return: That not a Penny cou'd be got of a great Sum they ow'd them for Carriages and Proviſions the laſt Summer, and which was deſign'd for Magazines againſt next Year in *Flanders*, without which their Armies cou'd not march in that Country, where they were ſure to find none of the *Spaniards* providing: That they had repreſented to *Spain* the Neceſſity but of keeping ſo many Forces well regulated and paid, as might defend their Towns while the Prince ſhou'd take the Field with the Army of the State, and hinder or divert any great Sieges there; but not a Word of Anſwer; That they had then deſir'd them to receive ſo many of the Troops of the *German* Princes, their Allies, as might defend their moſt important Places; but inſtead of this, they drove them out of their Country: That for the Emperor, they had always told him, That unleſs his Army wou'd march into *France*, or at leaſt force them to a Battel by ſuch Forces as might draw great Detachments of the *French* out of *Flanders*, that Country wou'd not be ſav'd the laſt Summer, or at leaſt not the next, unleſs his Army took up their Quarters this Winter in *Alſace*, or on that Side of the *Rhine*; But at *Vienna* they conſider'd *Flanders* as much as the *Dutch* do *Hungary*; and becauſe the Imperial Officers cou'd better find their private Account by Winter Quarters in *Germany*, than in a Country haraſs'd like *Alſace*, their Armies muſt repaſs the *Rhine* this Winter, and thereby loſe all the Advantages of the laſt Campaign, and Hopes of the next: That for want of Magazines in *Flanders*, Two or Three ſtrong Frontiers wou'd be loſt there next Spring, before the Imperialiſts cou'd take the Field; and if *Cambray*, *Valenciennes*, and *Mons*, were taken, all the reſt wou'd revolt, conſidering the Miſeries they had already ſuffer'd, and muſt by a longer War: That the Prince wou'd not be able to prevent it, or be ſoon enough in the Field to march, for want of Proviſions in *Flanders*, the Country growing deſolate by the unſettled Contributions; or at leaſt, not with ſuch an Army as to venture a Battel, or raiſe a Siege, while the *Spaniſh* Troops were ſo weak, and the *French* wou'd be ſo ſtrong, at a Time when they had no Enemy to divert them upon the *Rhine*: That the Prince's Friends cou'd not ſuffer him to go into the Field, only to ſee Towns loſt under his Noſe, and perhaps all *Flanders*, while he was expected to defend it; and at the ſame Time was render'd incapable of doing it by the Faults of the *Spaniards*, who yet wou'd not fail to reproach him, as well as his Enemies abroad, and Ill-willers at home, that wou'd be glad of the Occaſion. In the mean Time, from *France* they cou'd have whatever Conditions they pretended, either by reſtoring *Maeſtricht*, a Reglement of Commerce, or any Advantages to the Houſe of ORANGE; and as to this laſt, whatever the Prince himſelf wou'd demand: That to this Purpoſe they had every Week preſſing Letters from Monſieur D'ESTRADES to make the Separate Peace; and tho' he ſhou'd fall into it with the greateſt Regret that cou'd be, yet he did not ſee what elſe was to be done, and did not know one Man in *Holland* that was not of the ſame Mind: That he did not talk with me as an Ambaſſador, but a Friend, whoſe Opinion he eſteem'd and deſir'd: That he told me freely, *Leur fort & leur foible* [*Their Strength and their Weakneſs*]; and wou'd be glad to know what elſe I thought they cou'd do upon all theſe Circumſtances, *Et dans l'Accablement de leur Eſtat par une ſi longue guerre* [*And in the Diſtreſs of their State by ſo long a War*]. I return'd his Compliment, but excus'd my ſelf from giving my Opinion to a Perſon ſo well able to take Meaſures that were the fitteſt for the States Conduct or his own; but deſir'd to know what he reckon'd wou'd become of *Flanders* after the *Dutch* had made their Separate Peace; becauſe the Fate of that Country was that wherein the reſt of their Neighbours were concern'd as well as they. He anſwer'd, it wou'd be loſt in One Summer, or in Two, but more probably in One; That he believ'd *Cambray*, *Valenciennes*, *Namur*, and *Mons*, might be loſt in One Summer: That after their Loſs, the great Towns within wou'd not offer at defending themſelves, excepting *Antwerp* and *Oſtend*; for which they might perhaps take ſome Meaſures with *France*, as I knew the *French* had offer'd Monſieur DE WIT upon their firſt Invaſion in 1667. I aſk'd him how he reckon'd this State was to live with *France* after the Loſs of *Flanders?* And if he thought it cou'd be otherwiſe than at Diſcretion? He deſir'd me to believe, That if they cou'd hope to ſave *Flanders* by the War, they wou'd not think of a Separate Peace; but if it muſt be loſt, they had rather it ſhou'd be by the Laſt, which wou'd leſs exhauſt their Country and diſhonour the Prince: That after *Flanders* was loſt, they muſt live ſo with *France*, as wou'd make them find it their Intereſt rather to preſerve their State than to deſtroy it: That it was not to be choſen, but to be ſwallow'd like a deſperate Remedy: That he had hop'd for ſome Reſource from better Conduct in the *Spaniſh* Affairs; or that ſome great Impreſſion of the *German* Armies upon that Side of *France*, might have brought the Peace to ſome reaſonable Terms: That for his own Part he had ever believ'd, that *England* it ſelf wou'd cry Halt at one Step or other that *France* was making; and that if we wou'd be content to ſee Half *Flanders* loſt, yet we wou'd not All; nor *Sicily* neither, for the Intereſt of our Trade in the *Mediterranean*: That the King had the Peace in his Hands for theſe Two Years paſt, might have made it when he pleas'd, and upon ſuch Conditions as he ſhou'd think fit, of Juſtice and Safety to the reſt of his Neighbours as well as himſelf: That all

Men knew, *France* was not in a Condition to refuſe whatever Terms His Majeſty reſolv'd on, or to venture a War with *England* in Conjunction with the reſt of the Allies: That the leaſt Shew of it, if at all credited in *France*, was enough to make the Peace: That they had long repreſented all this in *England* by Monſieur VAN BEUNINGHEN, and offer'd His Majeſty to be the Arbiter of it, and to fall into the Terms he ſhou'd preſcribe; but not a Word in Anſwer, and all receiv'd with ſuch a Coldneſs as never was, though other People thought we had Reaſon to be a little more concern'd: That this put him more upon thinking a Separate Peace neceſſary, than all the reſt: That he confeſs'd, *Cuncta prius tentanda* [*All Means were firſt to be tried*], till he found at laſt 'twas *immedicabile Vulnus* [*an incurable Wound*]: That for their living with *France* after *Flanders* was loſt, he knew well enough what I meant by asking; but after that, the Aims of *France* wou'd be more upon *Italy* or *Germany*, or perhaps upon us, than them: That it cou'd not be the Intereſt of *France* to deſtroy or conquer this State, but to preſerve it in a Dependance upon that Crown: That they cou'd make better Uſe of the *Dutch* Fleets, than of a few poor Fiſher-Towns that they ſhou'd be reduc'd to if any Violation were made either upon their Liberties or Religion; That the King of *France* had ſeen their Country, and knew it, and underſtood it ſo, and ſaid upon all Occaſions, That he had rather have them for his Friends than his Subjects; but if, after all, I concluded their State muſt fall in Four and Twenty Hours, yet it were better for them to defer it to the laſt Hour, and that it ſhou'd happen at Night rather than at Noon.

THIS was diſcours'd with ſuch Vehemence and Warmth, that he was not able to go on; and having ſaid, It was not a Matter to be reſolv'd between us Two, I left him, after wiſhing him Health enough to go through the Thoughts and Buſineſſes of ſo great a Conjuncture.

NEXT Morning I went to the Prince, and after ſome common Talk, told him what had paſt in my Viſit to the Penſioner, and ask'd His Highneſs, If he had ſeen him ſince, or knew any thing of it? He ſaid No; and ſo I told him the Detail of it; and upon Concluſion, That he ſaid he ſaw nothing elſe to be done but to make a Separate Peace; and that he knew not a Man in *Holland* who was not of his Mind. The Prince interrupted me, ſaying, Yes; I am ſure I know one, and that is my Self, and I will hinder it as long as I can; but if any thing ſhou'd happen to me, I know it wou'd be done in Two Days Time.

I ask'd him, Whether he was of the Penſioner's Mind, as to what he thought likely to happen the next Campaign? He ſaid, The Appearances were ill; but Campaigns did not always end as they began: That Accidents might happen which no Man cou'd foreſee; and that if they came to one fair Battel, none cou'd anſwer for the Event; That the King might make the Peace, if he pleas'd, before it began; but if we were ſo indifferent as to let this Seaſon paſs, for his Part he muſt go on, and take his Fortune: That he had ſeen that Morning a poor old Man, tugging alone in a little Boat with his Oars, againſt the Eddy of a Sluce upon a Canal: That when with the laſt Endeavour he was juſt got up to the Place intended, the Force of the Eddy carried him quite back again; but he turn'd his Boat as ſoon as he cou'd, and fell to his Oars again; and thus Three or Four Times while the Prince ſaw him; And concluded this old Man's Buſineſs and His were too like one another, and that he ought however to do juſt as the old Man did, without knowing what wou'd ſucceed, any more than what did in the poor Man's Caſe.

ALL that paſs'd upon theſe Diſcourſes I repreſented very particularly to the Court, the firſt Part immediately to the King, the reſt to the Secretaries of State; and added my own Opinion, That if His Majeſty continu'd to interpoſe no further than by the bare and common Offices of this Mediation in the Place and Forms of a Treaty, and the *Auſtrians* held off from the Progreſs of it, as well as the Northern Allies, and as they had all hitherto done, it wou'd certainly follow, that the *French* and *Dutch* wou'd fall into private Negotiations, and by what I cou'd obſerve on both Sides, were like to adjuſt them in a very little Time, and leave them ready to clap up a Peace in Two Days, when the *Dutch* ſhou'd grow more impatient of the Slowneſs or Unſincereneſs of their Allies Proceedings in the General Treaty, or whenever the violent Humour of the People ſhou'd force the Prince to fall into the ſame Opinion with the States upon this Matter. This I eſteem'd my ſelf oblig'd to ſay, that His Majeſty might want no Lights that were neceſſary upon ſo nice, and yet ſo dangerous a Conjuncture. I had His Majeſty's Anſwer in a long Letter of his own Hand, complaining much of the Confederate Miniſters in *England* caballing with Parliament Men, and raiſing all Mens Spirits as high againſt the Peace as they cou'd; and that they had done it to ſuch a Degree, as made it very difficult for him to make any Steps with *France* towards a General Peace, unleſs the *Dutch* Ambaſſador wou'd firſt put in a Memorial, preſſing His Majeſty from the States to do it, and declaring, That without it they ſaw *Flanders* wou'd be loſt.

From Secretary WILLIAMSON I had no other Anſwer material upon all the Penſioner's Diſcourſes, nor my own Opinion upon the preſent Conjuncture, but that His Majeſty, and the Lords of the Foreign Committee, wonder'd I ſhou'd think the *French* were ſo ready for a Separate Peace, if the *Dutch* ſhou'd fall into thoſe Thoughts; and that they did not remember they had ever receiv'd any thing from either Me or my Colleague at *Nimeguen* that look'd that Way. Upon which I told him the frequent Converſations I had had with Monſieur COLBERT upon that Subject, and the ſeveral Letters the Penſioner had ſhewn me from the Marſhal D' ESTRADES, or his Inſtrument at *Maeſtricht*. But to all this I receiv'd no Anſwer, nor ſo much as Reflection; tho' I thought this Part was my Duty as Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, whether it were ſo as Mediator at *Nimeguen* or not.

THE Prince and Penſioner were both willing the King ſhou'd be comply'd with in the Government of Monſieur VAN BEUNINGHEN's Paces and Language at *London*; but preſs'd me to write once more to know His Majeſty's Opinion upon the Terms of a Peace, or elſe he ſaid it wou'd be too late, while the Seaſon advanc'd towards the Campaign. Upon which I deſir'd him to conſider there might be Three Weeks Difference between his firſt telling his own Thoughts to His Majeſty, and receiving His Majeſty's Opinion upon them; or ſending firſt to know His Majeſty's, then returning his own, and afterwards expecting the King's again in caſe they differ'd: Beſides, I believ'd His Majeſty wou'd take it kinder, and as a Piece of more Confidence, if His Highneſs made no Difficulty of explaining himſelf firſt. The Prince paus'd a while, and then ſaid, To ſhew the Confidence he deſir'd to live in with His Majeſty, he wou'd make no further Difficulty of it, tho' he might have many Reaſons to do it: That if the King had a Mind to make a ſudden Peace, he thought he muſt do it upon the Foot of *Aix la Chapelle*; which he wou'd have the more Ground for, becauſe it was a Peace he both made and warranted: That for Exchanges, he thought there ſhou'd be no other propos'd upon it, but only of *Aeth* and *Charleroy* for *Aire* and *St. Omer*; which Two laſt he thought imported a great deal more to *France* than the others, unleſs they wou'd declare that they intended to end this War with the Proſpect of Beginning another, by which they might get the reſt of *Flanders*: That this was all needed paſs between *France* and *Spain*; and for the Emperor and this State, that the firſt having taken *Philipsburg* from the *French*, ſhou'd raze it; and the *French* having taken *Maeſtricht* from the *Dutch*, ſhou'd raze it too; and ſo this whole War ſhou'd paſs, *Comme un tourbillon qui avoit ceſſé, apres avoir menacé beaucoup, & fait fort peu de Remuemens au monde* [*As a Storm that has ceas'd, after it had threaten'd much, and made but little Alterations in the World*].

I was ſurpriz'd to hear a Propoſition ſo on the ſudden, ſo ſhort, and ſo deciſive, and that ſeem'd ſo eaſy towards a ſhort Cloſe, if His Majeſty ſhou'd fall into it; and I eſteem'd it a Strain in the Prince of the moſt conſummate Knowledge in the whole preſent Scheme of Affairs, and moſt deciſive Judgment upon them that he cou'd have given after the longeſt Deliberation and matureſt Advice. I obſerv'd however to His Highneſs upon it, That he had not explain'd what was to become of *Lorrain* and *Burgundy*; and next, Whether he believ'd it at all likely, that *France*, after ſuch Acquiſitions made in this War, and ſo many more expected, ſhou'd come to ſuch Reſtitutions of what they poſſeſs'd, without any Equivalent. The Prince reply'd, Both were explain'd by the Terms he propos'd of *Aix la Chapelle*: That for *Lorrain*, *France* never pretended to keep it, but from the laſt Duke only: That *Burgundy* cou'd not be parted with by *Spain*, without the *French* reſtoring ſo many Towns for it in *Flanders* as wou'd raiſe endleſs Debates, draw the Buſineſs into Lengths, and ſo leave it to the Deciſion of another Campaign. For the Second, he ſaid, He had Reaſon to doubt it, and did not believe it wou'd be done but by His Majeſty's vigorous Interpoſition, but by That he was ſure it wou'd be eaſily effected; but if His Majeſty wou'd not endeavour it, the War muſt go on, and God Almighty muſt decide it: That all the *Allies* wou'd be glad of it, and believ'd that upon DON JOHN's coming to the Head of the *Spaniſh* Affairs, there wou'd be a new World there: That however one Town well defended, or one Battel well fought, might change the Scene: That for himſelf he wou'd confeſs, the King cou'd never do ſo kind a Part, as to bring him with ſome Honour out of this War, and upon ſome moderate Terms; but if he was content that *France* ſhou'd make them inſupportable, they wou'd venture All rather than receive them; and for *Holland*'s making it a Separate Peace, let the Penſioner, or any others, tell me what they wou'd; they ſhou'd never do it while he was alive and was able to hinder it. And he wou'd ſay one Thing more to me, That he believ'd he was able to hinder it: That if he died, he knew it wou'd be done next Day; but when that ſhou'd happen, this Matter muſt be ſome other's Care, and perhaps we in *England* were the moſt concern'd to look after it.

I promis'd to repreſent all he had ſaid directly to His Majeſty, and ſo I did immediately; and the Prince went next Day to *Dieren*, within Six Leagues of *Nimeguen*, where I promis'd to come to him as ſoon as I ſhou'd be poſſeſs'd of His Majeſty's Anſwer. And I am the more particular in all theſe Diſcourſes with the Prince and the Penſioner upon this great Conjuncture, becauſe they do not only diſcover the true Springs from which the Peace was afterwards deriv'd, but repreſent moſt of the Intereſts of *Chriſtendom*, as they were obſerv'd by the Two Perſons that, next to Monſieur DE WIT, underſtood them the beſt of any I have ever met within the Courſe of my Negotiations.

AFTER the Prince was gone, I had one Conference more with the Penſioner, who told me he was ſtill of Opinion it muſt come to a Separate Peace: That he had told the Emperour's Miniſters the ſame Thing; and that if they did not at *Vienna* fall into the Meaſures propos'd and inſiſted on by the States before the Middle of *February* next, they ſhou'd be forc'd to make it: That if DON EMANUEL DE LYRA had not now aſſur'd them of the Remiſes being actually come from *Spain*, for Payment of the laſt Year's Charge of the Fleets, both in the *Mediterranean* and *Baltick*, according to Agreement, the Peace cou'd not have been kept off this Winter it ſelf. I told him the Prince was of another Mind, and had ſaid to me a Separate Peace ſhou'd never be made while he liv'd, and was able to hinder it; and that he believ'd he ſhou'd have it in his Power. The Penſioner reply'd, He ſhou'd come to it with as much Regret as the Prince himſelf; but that His Highneſs himſelf might be forc'd to it by the ill Conduct of his Allies, the ill Succeſſes of the next Campaign, and the Mutinies of the People, to which they were already but too much diſpos'd at *Amſterdam* by the Delays of the Treaty at *Nimeguen*: That the late Revolution in *Spain* againſt the Queen Regent and her Miniſtry, had ſhew'd enough what might be brought about by a violent and general Humour of the People; and the Prince knew the Country too well to go too far againſt it: That it was in His Majeſty's Hands to make a General Peace, if he pleas'd, before the Campaign began; and perhaps it was in the Conduct of *Spain* and the Emperor to engage *Holland* in one Campaign more, by the Meaſures they had propos'd: If both theſe fail'd, a Separate Peace muſt be made.

WHILE I ſtaid at the *Hague*, which was about a Month, my Colleagues at *Nimeguen* had, it ſeems, found out a Negotiation grown between the *French* Ambaſſadors and Monſieur VAN BEVERNING, ſeparate from the Miniſters of his Allies, and without any Communication of the Mediators, which they ſuſpected wou'd end in a Separate Peace. Of this they thought fit to give Part to the Court, and of their Suſpicions upon it; as they had done in my Abſence; and receiv'd an immediate Order upon it, That in caſe they found a Separate Peace concluding, or concluded between *France* and *Holland* at *Nimeguen*, they ſhou'd proteſt publickly againſt it in His Majeſty's Name. This my Colleague Sir LIONEL JENKINS writ to me at the *Hague* about the 10th of *January*, and was in great Pain upon it. He apprehended the Thing, but expected not to know it till 'twas done, and then doubted any good Conſequences from our Proteſtation: He deſir'd I wou'd both ſend him my Thoughts upon it, and the ſame to the Court as ſoon as I cou'd.

I did ſo, both to my Lord Treaſurer and Mr. Secretary COVENTRY; and told them very freely, That I cou'd not underſtand the Reaſon or the Drift of ſuch an Order as my Colleagues had receiv'd to make ſuch a Proteſtation: That if a Separate Peace between *France* and *Holland* were thought as dangerous in the Court, as I knew it was in the Country, the King might endeavour to prevent it, and had it ſtill in his Power, as he had had a great while: But if it were once concluded, I did not ſee any other Effect of our Proteſtation, unleſs it were to irritate both the Parties, and bind them the faſter, by our being angry at their Conjunction. Nor did I know what Ground cou'd be given for ſuch a Proteſtation; for tho' the Parties had accepted His Majeſty's Mediation of a General Peace, yet none of them had oblig'd themſelves to His Majeſty not to treat a Separate One, or without his Offices of Mediation; and if they had, I did not ſee why the ſame Intereſts that cou'd make them break through ſo many Obligations to their Allies, ſhou'd not make them as bold with a Mediator: That, as to prevent the thing may be a very wiſe and neceſſary Council, ſo His Majeſty's Reſolution in it ought to be ſignified as early as can be, where it is likely to be of Moment to that End, which was to *France*; But if the Thing ſhou'd be firſt done, as I cou'd not tell how well to ground our Offence, ſo I cou'd as little how to ſeek our Revenge; and it wou'd be to ſtay till we were ſtruck, and then truſt to crying out: That to the beſt of my Senſe, it were better to anger any one of the Parties before a Separate Peace, than both of them after; and if we muſt ſtrain any Points of Courteſy with them, to do it rather by making a Fair and General Peace, than by complaining or proteſting againſt a Separate One.

I thought, I confeſs, that upon this Repreſentation from my Colleagues, without any Knowledge of mine, or Suſpicion that the Matter was working up at *Nimeguen* when I left it, and yet agreeing ſo much with what I had foreſeen and repreſented from the *Hague*, and meeting ſuch a Reſentment at our Court as appear'd by the Order tranſmitted to my Colleagues upon it; there was little Queſtion but His Majeſty wou'd declare himſelf upon the Terms of a General Peace to both Parties, which I knew very well wou'd be refus'd by neither, if he were poſitive in it, and ſupported, as he wou'd certainly have been, by the Prince: But our Counſels at Court were ſo in ballance, between the Deſires of living at leaſt fair with *France*, and the Fears of too much diſpleaſing the Parliaments upon their frequent Seſſions, that our Paces upon this whole Affair look'd all like croſs Purpoſes, which no Man at home or abroad cou'd well underſtand, and were often miſtaken by both Parties engag'd in the War, as well as by both Parties in the Houſe of Commons, till the Thing was wreſted out of our Hands.

ABOUT the Twenty Fifth of *January* 1677, I receiv'd His Majeſty's Anſwer to my laſt Diſpatches by the Prince's Directions, and carried them immediately away to *Dieren*, which was little out of my Way to *Nimeguen*, and there communicated them to the Prince. They conſiſted of Two Parts; the Firſt, An Offer of His Majeſty's entring into the ſtrongeſt defenſive Alliance with the States, thereby to ſecure them from all Apprehenſions from *France*, after the Peace ſhou'd be made. The Second, was his Majeſty's Remarks, rather than Concluſion or Judgment, upon the Terms propos'd by the Prince for a Peace: That he believ'd it might be compaſs'd with *France*, upon the Exchange of *Cambray*, *Aire*, and *St. Omer*, for *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, *Oudenarde*, *Conde*, and *Bouchain*: That this Scheme was what His Majeſty thought poſſible to be obtain'd of *France*, tho' not what was to be wiſh'd.

I obſerv'd the Prince's Countenance to change when I nam'd *Cambray* and the reſt of the Towns; yet he heard me through, and the many nice Reaſons of Sir *J.*—— *W.*—— upon the Matter; as of a double Frontier this wou'd give to *Flanders*, the

Safety whereof was the Thing both His Majeſty and the States were moſt concerned in; and many other Ways of cutting the Feather. After which the Prince ſaid; He believ'd Dinner was ready, and we wou'd talk of it after we had din'd; and ſo went out; but as he was near the Door, he turn'd to me, and ſaid, Tho' we ſhou'd talk more of it after Dinner, yet he wou'd tell me now, and in few Words, That he muſt rather die than make ſuch a Peace.

AFTER Dinner, we went again into his Chamber, where he began with telling me I had ſpoil'd his Dinner: That he had not expected ſuch a Return of the Confidence he had begun towards His Majeſty. He obſerv'd the Offer of Alliance, came to me in a Letter of His Majeſty's own Hand; but that about the Terms of a Peace, from the Secretary only: That it was in a Style as if he thought him a Child, or to be fed with Whipt Cream: That ſince all this had been before the Foreign Committee, he knew very well it had been with the *French* Ambaſſador too, and that the Terms were his, and a great deal worſe than they cou'd have directly from *France*. He caſt them up diſtinctly, and what in plain Language they amounted to; That *Spain* muſt part with all *Burgundy*, *Cambray*, *Aire*, and *St. Omer*; which were of the Value of Two other Provinces in the Conſequences of any War between *France* and *Spain*; and all for the Five Towns mention'd: That in ſhort all muſt be ventur'd, ſince he was in, and found no other Way out. I told the Prince that I hop'd he wou'd ſend His Majeſty his own Thoughts upon it; but that he wou'd think a little more before he did it. He ſaid, he wou'd write to the King that Night, but wou'd not enter into the Detail of the Buſineſs, which was not worth the Pains, but wou'd leave it to me. He deſir'd me further to let His Majeſty know, That he had been very plain in what he had told me of his own Thoughts upon this whole Matter, and had gone as low as he cou'd with any Regard to the Safety of his Country, and his Allies, or his Honour: That he doubted whether *Spain* wou'd ever have conſented to thoſe very Terms; but for theſe he knew they cou'd not, tho' they were ſure to loſe all *Flanders* by the War: And for himſelf, he cou'd never propoſe it to them; but if *Flanders* were left in that Poſture, it cou'd never be defended upon another Invaſion, neither by *Holland*, nor by *England* it ſelf; and he was ſo far of the *Spaniards* Mind, That if *Flanders* muſt be loſt, it had better be ſo by a War than by a Peace: That whenever that was, *Holland* muſt fall into an abſolute Dependance upon

France; ſo that what His Majeſty offer'd of an Alliance with them, wou'd be to no Purpoſe; for they wou'd not be made the Stage of a War after the Loſs of *Flanders*, and wherein they were ſure no Alliance of His Majeſty, nor Forces neither, cou'd defend them. He concluded, That if His Majeſty wou'd help him out of this War with any Honour and Safety, either upon Kindneſs to him, or Conſideration of what Concernment his own Crowns were like to have in the Iſſue of this Affair, he wou'd acknowledge and endeavour to deſerve it as long as he liv'd; if not, the War muſt go on, be the Event what it wou'd; and for his own Part, he wou'd rather charge a Thouſand Men with a Hundred, nay, tho' he were ſure to die in the Charge, than enter into any Concert of a Peace upon theſe Conditions.

I gave His Majeſty an Account of all that paſs'd in this Interview, and return'd to my Poſt at *Nimeguen*.

THE Allies had taken great Umbrage at my Journey to the *Hague*, as deſign'd for negotiating ſome Separate Peace between *France* and *Holland*; but the Prince and Penſioner ſeem'd careleſs to ſatisfy them, and made that Uſe only of it to let them know that no ſuch Thing was yet intended, but that *Holland* wou'd be forç'd to it at laſt, if the Emperor and

Spain fell not into thoſe Meaſures that they had propos'd to them, both at *Vienna* and *Madrid*, for the vigorous Proſecution of the next Campaign. Which had ſome Effect at *Vienna*, but little in *Spain* or *Flanders*, as was felt in the Beginning of the Spring.

AT my Return to *Nimeguen*, I found that in my Abſence Count KINKSKI was arriv'd, who was a Perſon of great Parts, of a ſharp and quick Apprehenſion, but exact and ſcrupulous in his Conduct, rigid in his Opinions, never before vers'd in theſe ſort of Imployments, and thereby very punctilious: This had engag'd him in Difficulties upon the Ceremony of Viſits, both with my Colleagues and the *French*, upon his firſt Arrival; which laſted with theſe till the End of the Congreſs, ſo as to hinder all Viſits between them: But I had the good Fortune to retrieve all ill Correſpondence that had happen'd between the Mediators and him. I found likewiſe, that a ſecret Intelligence was grown between the *French* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, which was manag'd by Monſieur OLIVECRANS, the Second *Swediſh* Ambaſſador, and wholly apart from my Colleagues, whoſe Intervention had been only us'd when the Matter was firſt agreed between thoſe Parties: That Monſieur VAN BEVERNING drove on very violently towards a Peace, and with little Regard of his Allies; and ſaid he had Order from the States, *De pouſſer l'Affaire tant qu'il lui ſeroit poſſible*, [*To puſh the Buſineſs on as vigorouſly as poſſible*]: That thoſe Ambaſſadors had come to a ſort of Agreement about the Form and Number of Powers, which was, That the Mediators ſhou'd be deſir'd to draw up a Form of Preamble, which ſhou'd be common to all the Parties, and contain nothing more, but that ſuch and ſuch Princes, out of a ſincere Deſire of Peace, had ſent ſuch and ſuch Perſons to *Nimeguen*, which had been choſe for the Place of Treaty, by the Interceſſion of the King of *Great Britain*: That the Mediators ſhou'd likewiſe draw up an Obligatory Act, to be ſign'd by the ſeveral Ambaſſadors, and put into their Hands on the ſame Day, for the procuring new Powers within Sixty Days after the Date: That the Titles in the new Powers ſhou'd be inſerted, *bona fide*, according to the uſual Stile of the Chancellary of each Court; and that an Act of Salvo ſhou'd be ſign'd by the ſeveral Ambaſſadors, for no Conſequence to be drawn hereafter, for the Uſe or Omiſſion of any Titles in theſe Powers.

I found likewiſe, That theſe Points had been agreed among all the Allies, by the formal Intervention of my Colleagues, after they had firſt been concerted between the *French* and *Dutch*: That theſe Ambaſſadors had entred into a Courſe of mutual Viſits; owning publickly, that they did it as neceſſary to facilitate the Progreſs of the Treaty: And that the *Dutch* began to talk of finiſhing an Eventual Treaty (as they call'd it) for themſelves, as ſoon as the Acts about Powers were wholly diſpatch'd; which ſhou'd not take Place till the General Peace was concluded; but after which They, the *Dutch*, intended to employ their Offices between their Allies and the *French*.

I found likewiſe, that Mr. Hyde had increas'd the Number of the Mediators in my Abſence; who having been ſent into *Poland* the Summer paſt, to chriſten that King's Child, and to condole with the Emperor upon the late Empreſs's Death, had perform'd the firſt Compliment from His Majeſty; but upon his coming from thence to *Vienna*, found the Emperor married, and ſo paſs'd on privately home, and arriv'd at *Nimeguen* ſoon after I left it upon my Journey to the *Hague*; where he came to me, after having ſtaid a Fortnight at *Nimeguen*. He told me at the *Hague*, That upon his Return by *Rotterdam*, he had there met Letters from Court with a Commiſſion to ſtop for ſome ſhort Time at *Nimeguen*, and take the Character of one of the Ambaſſadors Mediators there; by which he might be enabled at his Return to give His Majeſty an Account of the State and Progreſs of Affairs there. He ſaid, this Commiſſion was intended to find him at *Nimeguen*, upon the Stop he made there; but having not arriv'd till he had left that Place, he was in doubt whether he ſhou'd make any Uſe of it or not, and deſir'd my Advice, whether to return to *Nimeguen*, or to go forward for *England*. I eaſily perceiv'd what this Diſpatch was intended for, to introduce him into thoſe kinds of Characters and Employments; and ſo advis'd him to go back to *Nimeguen*, which he did, and made a Part of the Ambaſſy during a ſhort Stay there, but excus'd himſelf from entring into the Management of any Conferences or Diſpatches; ſo that by his Modeſty, and my Lord BERKLEY's great Age and Infirmities, the Fatigue of that Employment lay ſtill upon me and Sir LIONEL JENKINS, who writ alternately the Diſpatches from the Ambaſſy to Court, and the others to other Princes and Miniſters, by Concert, all the while I was upon the Place.

I found likewiſe, at my Return to *Nimeguen*, ſome few Difficulties yet remaining, which obſtructed the Diſpatch intended about the Powers: For tho' the *French* had conſented to furniſh new Powers, and ſeveral for the Emperor, *Spain*, *Denmark*, and *Holland*; yet they refuſ'd a diſtinct one for *Brandenburg*, which theſe Miniſters inſiſted on; and the *Dutch* were in ſuch Obligations to that Prince, that they were forc'd to do ſo too, tho' unwillingly, as doubting the Succeſs with *France*, and foreſeeing the Conſequence of the ſame Pretence to be rais'd upon it by other Princes of *Germany*, not only Electors, but the Houſes of LUNENBURG and NEUBURG, who yielded to the Electors in no Point, but that one of Precedence. But the *Dutch*, to diſtinguiſh that of BRANDENBURG, alledg'd to us, that he was Principal in the War of *Sweden*, and ſo could not be included as an Ally only, either by the Emperor, or by the States.

THE *Daniſh* Ambaſſador ſtood poſitively upon the common Uſe of the Latin Tongue between *France* and them in their Powers, or elſe to give his in *Daniſh*, if they gave theirs in *French*. Theſe ſaid, That it was a Novelty and an Impertinence; and that if in all the Intercourſe that had ever been between thoſe Two Crowns, the Language had not been *French* on their Side, and *Latin* on the *Danes*, even in any one Inſtrument, they were content they ſhou'd give their Powers not only in *Daniſh*, but in *Hebrew* if they pleas'd. The *Dane* ſaid, He cou'd not give Account

count of all Preſidents; That if ill ones had been hitherto us'd, 'twas Time to eſtabliſh new ones that were good: That his Maſter had more Right to do it than any former King, being now Succeſſive in that Crown, which was before Elective; and being more abſolute in his Dominions than any other King of *Chriſtendom*; for there was now nothing in *Denmark*, but *La Volonté du Roy* [*The Will of the King*]; upon all which he ſaid his Orders were poſitive, and he cou'd not proceed without the Style he pretended.

THESE Two Points chiefly had obſtructed the final Agreement about the Powers, for near a Month; after which we prevail'd with the *French* to yield to new Powers for *Brandenburg*, upon Aſſurance from the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors that they expected no ſuch Pretenſion for any other of their *German* Allies; but that if any ſhou'd be rais'd and refus'd by *France*, yet That ſhou'd not hinder or delay the *Dutch* from proceeding in the Treaty. The *Dane*'s Pretence about the Languages, being neither countenanc'd nor approv'd by any of his Allies, was at laſt yielded by him; which had been better never ſtarted, as having loſt him Ground in that which was intended by it, which was to eſtabliſh the Principle of a Parity among Crown'd Heads.

THERE was an Accident happen'd likewiſe in my Abſence, which had rais'd great Heats among the Parties. Upon Count KINKSKI's Arrival, the Allies began their Meetings at his Houſe; by which they hop'd to govern the General Reſolutions, and keep the Alliance from breaking into any ſeparate Pieces. The *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, who pretended to influence the Peace more than any of their Allies, ſtomach'd the Count's Deſign and Carriage at theſe Conferences, where they ſaid he pretended to be ſole Dictator, and they were unwilling to enter into plain Contradictions, or the ſame Heats at his own Houſe; upon which they went to the Stadthouſe, and choſe there a Room for their Conferences among all the Allies, which, upon the firſt Practice, gave great Offence to the *French* Ambaſſadors. They ſaid it was a Breach upon the Neutrality of the Place, eſtabliſh'd by the Aſſembly's being there; and that the *Dutch* had now arrogated to themſelves the Diſpoſal of the Town-Houſe, without common Agreement. The *Dutch* alledg'd, the Rooms they had taken were not belonging to the Town, but to the Nobles of *Gelderland*, and were below Stairs; and that all above remain'd to be diſpos'd of ſtill by the Mediators for the common Uſe of the Parties when they ſhou'd deſire it. The

French were not ſatisfy'd with theſe Reaſons, and threatned to break the Aſſembly, We at laſt prevail'd with the Allies to forbear the Uſe of the Stadthouſe, till we drew up a formal Propoſal to be made by us the Mediators, to all Parties, deſiring them, That for their Eaſe and Convenience, all Parties wou'd meet in one Room at the Stadthouſe, or at leaſt the Two Alliances in Two ſeveral Rooms, whilſt we ſhou'd meet in another, and be there ready to perform all Offices between them. This laſt was accepted, and we deſign'd the ſeveral Rooms for our Selves and the Parties; but were forc'd to find Two Rooms for the *French* and *Swedes* to meet apart, whoſe Competition, tho' Allies, wou'd not ſuffer them to meet in one, or decide it by Lot, as the *Spaniard* and *Dane* had done.

THERE remain'd one Difficulty more, which particularly concern'd His Majeſty. Both *French* and *Spaniards*, as well as *Imperialiſts*, had inſiſted, even with Emulation, That the Pope's Mediation ſhou'd be mention'd in the new Powers, as well as His Majeſty's. The *Dutch* and *Danes* both had abſolutely refus'd to treat upon any Powers where the Pope's Mediation ſhou'd be mention'd. We had likewiſe repreſented to them, How great a Difference there was between His Majeſty's Mediation, that had been accepted by all Parties, and the Pope's, that had been ſo only by a Part of them; and the very Mention of it abſolutely refus'd by ſeveral others, to be admitted into the Powers: That His Majeſty's Mediation had propos'd the Place of Treaty, exchang'd the Paſsports, form'd the Aſſembly, manag'd all the Negotiations in it ſo long, without the Appearance of any Miniſter from the Pope, or Knowledge whether he wou'd be receiv'd if he came, or by whom his Mediation wou'd be accepted or imploy'd. At length it was reſolv'd, That the Mention of His Majeſty's Mediation alone ſhou'd be made in the ſeveral Powers: And ſo all being agreed, about the Middle of *February* all the ſeveral Acts were ſign'd, and put into our Hands, and by us exchang'd among the ſeveral Parties.

AFTER this Diſpatch of all Preliminaries to the Treaty, the ſeveral Parties, by Agreement, brought into our Hands their ſeveral Propoſitions or Pretenſions. The *French* ſeem'd in Theirs to demand nothing of the Emperour and of *Brandenburg*, but the entire reſtoring of the Treaty of *Munſter*: Of *Spain*, the retaining of all they had conquer'd in this War, upon the *Spaniards* having firſt broken the Peace. From the States General they made no Demand, but offer'd them the reſtoring of their Friendſhip, and that they wou'd hearken to a Treaty of Commerce. On the other Side, The Emperour's Demands were, that *France* ſhou'd reſtore to him, to the Empire, and all his Allies, whatever they had taken from them in the Courſe of this War, and make Reparation for all Damages they had ſuffer'd in it. The *Spaniards* demanded all the Places they had loſt, and all the Damages they had ſuffer'd from *France* ſince the Year 1665. The *Dutch* demanded from *France* the Reſtitution of *Maeſtricht*, Satisfaction to the Prince of ORANGE in what did concern the Principality of ORANGE, and a Reglement of Commerce, with a Renunciation of all Pretenſions each Party might have upon the other. As for the great Damages they had ſuſtain'd, they ſaid, they ſacrific'd them all to the publick Peace, provided Satisfaction might be given to their Allies.

FOR the Northern Kings, and *German* Princes, their Demands were ſo extended, that I ſhall forbear relating them, and ſum them up in this only; That thoſe who had gain'd by the War, pretended to retain all they had got; and thoſe that had loſt, pretended to recover all they had loſt, and to be repaid the Damages they had ſuffer'd by the War. Count KINKSKI deliver'd into our Hands likewiſe the Duke of LORRAIN's Pretenſions, ſealed as the reſt were; but we open'd them not, upon the *French* telling us they had not receiv'd from Court any Counter-Pretenſions upon the Duke of LORRAIN; whereof they believ'd the Reaſon to be, That no Miniſter of his had yet appear'd at the Congreſs. Indeed, their Pretenſions againſt LORRAIN had never yet been made ſince the Death of the late Duke, and wou'd have been very hard to draw up by their ableſt Miniſters or Advocates themſelves; and therefore they thought fit to decline them, and reſerve them for the Terms of a Peace, when they ſhou'd be able to preſcribe, rather than to treat them.

BY these Propoſitions of the ſeveral Parties, it eaſily appear'd to the World, what wiſe Men knew before, how little Hopes there were of a Peace, from the Motions of this Treaty in the preſent Circumſtances of Affairs; and how it was wholly to be expected from the Courſe and Influence of future Events in the Progreſs of the War.

ABOUT the *24th* of *February*, I went to the Prince at his Houſe at *Soeſdyck*, a Day's Journey from *Nimeguen*, upon a Letter from his Highneſs, deſiring it of me. I had about a Week before written to him by the King's Command, upon which his Highneſs deſir'd to ſpeak with me. I went, and told him the Contents of my laſt Diſpatch. He ask'd me whether it were from the King himſelf, or from any of the Miniſters: I told him, it was from Secretary WILLIAMSON, by the King's Command. The Prince ſaid, Then he knew from whence it came; but however deſir'd me to read the Particulars to him: Which were, the King's Apprehenſion of a Miſtake in the Prince, becauſe the Terms mention'd by his Majeſty were not any Propoſitions (which He did not think his part to make), nor had He any Authority for it, but only a piece of Confidence he had enter'd into with the Prince. Next, That the Exchange of *Cambray*, was only propos'd as a thing to be wiſh'd; that ſo ſix Towns might be reſtor'd to *Spain*, inſtead of five the Prince had propos'd, which in His Majeſty's Opinion would make a kind of a double Frontier to *Bruſſels*, and ſo leave *Flanders* ſafer than by the Prince's Scheme; Therefore His Majeſty deſir'd the Prince would think further of it, and not let it fall ſo flat as he did by his laſt Anſwer, without trying what it could be beaten out to. But however offer'd, That, if his Highneſs had any other Propoſition to make to *France*, the King would very readily hand it over to them in the beſt manner he could.

WHILST I was reading this to the Prince, He could hardly hear it out with any Patience, Sir *J*——*W*——'s Style was always ſo diſagreeable to him; and he thought the whole Caſt of this ſo artificial, that he receiv'd it at firſt with Indignation and Scorn, rather than with thoſe further Thoughts that were deſir'd of him. He ſaid the Style of *Letting it fall ſo flat*, was my Lord ARLINGTON's; and *The double Frontier, as it were, for* Bruſſels, was ſome of the Secretary's *Creſme Fouettée* [*Whipt Cream*], and fit for Children. The reſt he took to be all the *French* Ambaſſador's; who would fain continue a private Treaty with him by the King's Hand, while His Maſter went into the Field. His Anſwer was very plain: That he had thought enough of it, and had no more to ſay at this time. That when he ſpoke to me ſo lately at the *Hague*, He believ'd the Peace might have been made, and upon better terms than he propos'd, if the King had deſir'd them from *France*, either upon Kindneſs to Him, or upon the Intereſts of His own Crowns. That he was ſorry to find the King's Thoughts ſo different from his; and that whenever they grew nearer, he ſhould be glad to know it. But he look'd now upon the Campaign as begun; and believ'd at the time we talk'd, the Guns were playing before *Va-*

lenciennes. That he ſaw now no hopes of a Peace, but expected a long War; unleſs *Flanders* ſhould be loſt, and in that caſe the States muſt make the beſt terms they could. That he expected a very ill Beginning of the Campaign, to make an ill Figure in it himſelf, and to bear the Shame of Faults that others would make; but if the Emperor perform'd what he had promis'd, the Campaign might not end as it began: That however he was in, and muſt go on, *Et quand on eſt à la grande meſſe, on y eſt* [*And when one is at High Maſs, one is at it*]; (meaning, I ſuppoſe, that one muſt ſtay till 'tis done, becauſe the Crowd is ſo great one can't get out). That he gave His Majeſty Thanks for his offer of handing over to *France* any Propoſition he ſhould make; but That never was His Meaning: For if it had, He could eaſily have found a directer way. That his Intention was only to enter into a Confidence with His Majeſty upon the Subject of the Peace, and to owe it wholly to him; but if any thing was propos'd by the King to *France*, otherwiſe than as His own Thoughts, it muſt be from the Body of the Alliance, and not from Him.

AFTER theſe Diſcourſes, the Prince went immediately away for the *Hague*, and I return'd to *Nimeguen*; where all Negotiations ſeem'd wholly at a ſtand;

and ſo continu'd till towards the End of *April*. In this time arriv'd Monſieur STRATMAN, one of the Imperial Ambaſſadors; Monſieur CHRISTIN, one of the *Spaniſh*; but He and DON PEDRO having only the Character of Plenipotentiaries, and pretending thereupon the Treatment of Ambaſſadors, and the *French* and *Swedes* refuſing it to that Character, they continued *incognito* till the Arrival of the Marqueſs DE BALBACES.

FOR Monſieur STRATMAN; Upon his Notification to the ſeveral Ambaſſadors (at the ſame Time, as he ſaid,) the *Dane* and the *Swede* made him firſt their Viſits, and after them the *French*: Whereupon, having firſt made his to the Mediators, he return'd them to the *Swede*, the *Dane* being out of Town; after which he ſent to demand an Hour of the *French*; but Monſieur D'ESTRADES return'd him anſwer, That having fail'd of the Reſpect due to the King his Maſter, they would not admit of any Viſit from him. Hereupon Monſieur KINKSKI and Monſieur STRATMAN deſir'd us to ask upon what Point the *French* refus'd their Viſit, ſaying, It could be upon no other but a Pretence of Preference to all other Crowns, and expecting the firſt Viſits to be made the *French*, tho' other Ambaſſadors had firſt viſited the Imperialiſts. This they deſir'd much the *French* would avow, believing it would embroil them with the *Swedes* as well as with us, who they knew would declare against any ſuch Pretence. But the *French*, upon our Application from the Imperialiſts, kept ſtanch to their firſt Anſwer, That Monſieur STRATMAN, *avoit manqué du reſpect au Roy leur Maiſtre.* [*Had been wanting in the reſpect due to the King their Maſter*]. That he had done it in ſeveral Points, and knew very well in what: And further than This they would not enter into the Matter, but continued poſitive in refuſing the Viſit.

WHILST ſuch Matters as theſe help'd to amuſe the Congreſs, and keep them in Countenance, the eſſential Parts of the Treaty were manag'd in the Field: *France* had in the beginning of the Year block'd up *Cambray*, and *Valenciennes* about the end of *February*. Having provided ſufficient Magazines in the Winter for the Subſiſtence of their Forces, they began to break into *Flanders*, and into the Parts of *Germany* on t'other ſide the *Rhine*, and with all the moſt cruel Ravages of Burning and Spoiling thoſe Parts of *Germany* that could be exercis'd, and ſuch as had not yet been us'd on either Side ſince the War began. The Allies made Complaints of this new manner of War, to His Majeſty; who imploy'd his Offices towards *France*, to hinder ſuch proſecution

of

of a Quarrel, while a Peace was treating under his Mediation: But the thing was done, and their Point was gain'd; which was, by an entire Ruin of the Country, to hinder the Imperialiſts from finding any Subſiſtence for their Troops; if they ſhould march into *Alſace*, and thereby divert thoſe Forces that the *French* reſolv'd to employ this Spring in *Flanders*, before the *Dutch* could take the Field and march to the relief of thoſe Places they intended to attack.

ABOUT the Seventeenth of *March*, the King of *France* took *Valenciennes*; having ſurmounted the very Force of the Seaſons, and ſet down before it about the beginning of that Month. From thence he march'd with a mighty Army, and laid Siege to *Cambray* with one part of it, and to St. *Omer* with the other, under the Duke of ORLEANS. After five days Siege from the opening of the Trenches, he took *Cambray*, like all the other *Spaniſh* Towns, by ſurrender upon Articles; but the Cittadel held out for ſome Days longer.

IN the mean time, the *Dutch* having receiv'd their Payments due from *Spain*, and finding the *French* go on with their deſign upon *Flanders*, whilſt the Treaty ſerv'd but for an Amuſement, reſolv'd to go on with the War for another Campaign; being kept up to this Reſolution by the vigour of the Prince of ORANGE, in preſſing them upon the Obſervance of their Treaties, and purſuit of their Intereſt, in the defence of *Flanders*. Upon the firſt motion of the *French*, the Prince had begun to prepare for that of his Troops likewiſe, and preſs'd the *Spaniards* to have Theirs in readineſs to join him; and with all imaginable endeavours provided for the ſubſiſtence of his Army in their March through *Flanders*, which the *Spaniards* had taken no care of. But with all the Diligence and Application that could be uſed, he could not come to the Relief either of *Valenciennes* or *Cambray*; but with part of the Forces of the States alone, and without either Troops, or ſo much as Guides, furniſh'd him by the *Spaniards*, he march'd directly towards St. *Omer*, reſolute to raiſe that Siege with the hazard of a Battel, at what Diſadvantage ſoever. The Duke of ORLEANS leaving a ſmall part of his Troops to defend his Trenches before St. *Omer*, march'd to meet the Prince of ORANGE, and upon the way was reinforc'd by Monſieur DE LUXEMBOURG with all the Troops the *French* King could ſend out of his Army, leaving only enough to continue the Siege before the Cittadel of *Cambray*. Theſe Armies met, and fought with great Bravery at *Mont-Caſſel*, where, after a ſharp Diſpute, the firſt Regiment of the *Dutch* Infantry began to break, and fall into diſorder: The Prince went immediately to that Part where the Shake began, ralli'd them ſeveral times, and renew'd the Charge; but at laſt was born down by the plain Flight of his Men, whom he was forc'd to reſiſt like Enemies, and fall in among them with his Sword in his Hand; and cutting the firſt croſs the Face, cry'd out aloud, *Coquin je te marqueray au moins, à fin de te faire pendre,* [*Raſcal, I'll ſet a Mark on thee at leaſt, that I may hang thee afterwards*]. Voice nor Actions, Threats nor Examples, could give Courage to Men that had already loſt it; and ſo the Prince was forc'd ~~to~~ yield to the Stream that carried him back to the reſt of his Troops, which yet ſtood firm; with whom, and what he could gather of thoſe that had been routed, he made a Retreat that wanted little of the Honour of a Victory; and will, by the confeſſion of his Enemies, make a part of that great Character they ſo juſtly allow him. The ſafety of the *Dutch* Army, upon this Misfortune, was by them wholly own'd to His Hignеſs's Conduct as well as Bravery in the courſe of this Action; after which, both St. *Omer* and the Cittadel of *Cambray* were ſurrender'd to the *French*, about the twentieth of *April*, with which the *Spaniards* loſt the main Strength of their Frontier of *Flanders* on that ſide, (as they had done that on the other ſide by *Aeth* and *Charleroy* in the former War) and all the Hopes of raiſing any Contributions in *France*, which was a great part of the Subſiſtence of the *Spaniſh* Troops; ſo as there now remain'd nothing of Frontier conſiderable, beſides *Namur* and *Mons* to the Land, *Oſtend* and *Newport* to the Sea; and the reſt of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* conſiſted only of great Towns, by which no reſiſtance could be hop'd for, whenever the *French* ſhould think fit to attack them, and could ſpare Men enough to garriſon them when they ſhould be taken. For the Greatneſs of thoſe Towns, and Multitude of Inhabitants, and their inveterate Hatred to the *French* Government, was ſuch, as without very great Gariſons they could not be held; unleſs upon one ſudden Conqueſt and great Revolution, the whole *Spaniſh Netherlands* ſhould become *French*, and thereby be made a new Frontier towards the *Dutch* and *Germans*, and, like a new Conqueſt, the Seat of their Armies.

THIS the *Spaniards* thought would never be ſuffer'd, neither by *England* nor *Holland*; and ſo they ſeem'd to have abandon'd the Fate of *Flanders* to their Care, with a Reſignation that became good Chriſtians, rather than good Reaſoners. For I have long obſerv'd, from all I have ſeen, or heard, or read in Story, that nothing is ſo fallacious, as to reaſon upon the Counſels or Conduct of Princes or States, from what one conceives to be the true Intereſt of their Countries: For there is in all places an Intereſt of thoſe that Govern, and another of thoſe that are Govern'd: Nay, among theſe, there is an Intereſt of quiet Men, that deſire only to keep what they have; and another of unquiet Men, who deſire to acquire what they have not; and by violent, if they cannot by lawful means. Therefore I never could find a better way of judging the Reſolutions of a State, than by the perſonal Temper and Underſtanding, or Paſſions and Humours, of the Princes, or Chief Miniſters, that were for the time at the Head of Affairs. But the *Spaniards* reaſon'd only from what they thought the Intereſt of each Country. They knew *Holland* would ſave *Flanders* if they could, and *England* they were ſure could if they would, and believ'd would be brought to it at laſt by the Increaſe of the Danger, and Force of their own Intereſt, and the Humour of the People. In this Hope or Preſumption they were a great deal flatter'd by their Miniſters then in *England*, DON BERNARD DE SALINAS Envoy from *Spain*, and FONSECA Conſul there; who did indeed very induſtriouſly foment the Heats that began about this time to appear in the Parliament, upon the Apprehenſions of the *French* Conqueſts both in *Flanders* and *Sicily*; which moved them, about the End of *March*, to make an Addreſs to the King, repreſenting the Progreſſes of *France*, and deſiring His Majeſty to put a ſtop to them, before they grew dangerous to *England*, as well as to their Neighbours. DON BERNARD DE SALINAS told ſome of the Commons, That the King was very angry at this Addreſs, and had ſaid upon it, That the Authors of it were a Company of Rogues; which made a great Noiſe in the Houſe of Commons. The King reſented it as a Piece of Malice in SALINAS, or at leaſt as a Deſign to inflame the Houſe; and thereupon order'd him to depart the Kingdom within certain Days. Yet, about a Month after, the Parliament made another Addreſs, upon the ſame Occaſion, deſiring his Majeſty to make a League Offenſive and Defenſive with the States-General, for oppoſing the Progreſs of the *French* Conqueſts. This His Majeſty receiv'd as an Invaſion of his Prerogative, made them an angry Anſwer, and Prorogued the Parliament till the Winter following.

HOWEVER, *France* had ſo much Regard to the Jealouſies rais'd both in *England* and *Holland*, of their deſigning an intire Conqueſt of *Flanders*, that, after having gain'd thoſe three important Frontier-Towns ſo early in the Spring, and diſpers'd his Army after that Expedition, that King return'd home; writ to his Majeſty, That to ſhew he had no Intention to conquer *Flanders*, but only to make a General Peace, he was contented, notwithſtanding the great Advantages and Forces he had at preſent, to make a General Truce, in caſe his Allies the *Swedes* would agree to it; which he deſir'd His Majeſty to inform himſelf of, ſince he had not Convenience of doing it, for want of Liberty of Couriers into *Sweden*.

THE Contents of this Letter were proned by the *French* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen* among the ſeveral Miniſters there, till they found it had an effect contrary to what was intended, and was taken by all for too groſs an Artifice. It paſs'd very ill with Monſieur VEN BEVERNING himſelf, who of all others there, was the moſt paſſionately bent upon the Peace. But he ſaid openly upon this, That the *French* were to be commended, who never neglected any thing of Importance, nor ſo much as of Amuſement: That *France* had given their Blow, and would now hinder the Allies from giving Theirs: That the Reſerve of *Sweden*'s Conſent, was an eaſy way of avoiding the Truce, if the Allies ſhould accept it: That this it ſelf could not be done, becauſe *Flanders* would be left ſo open, as to be eaſily ſwallow'd up by the next Invaſion; having no Frontier on either ſide. That the Towns now poſſeſs'd by *France*, would in the time of a Truce grow abſolutely *French*, and ſo the harder to be reſtor'd by a Peace or a War. That for his part, he deſir'd the Peace; contrary to the Politicks of Monſieur VAN BEUNINGHEN, and the other Miniſters of the Allies in *England*; affirming always, That notwithſtanding all their Intrigues and Intelligences there, He, Monſieur VAN BEVERNING, was aſſur'd, That his Majeſty would not enter into the War, to ſave the laſt Town in *Flanders*. This Confidence made him purſue all the Ways towards a Peace, and by Paces which ſome thought forwarder than his Commiſſion, and very ill concerted with thoſe of his Allies. About the middle of *April*, he brought us the Project of a Treaty of Commerce both for *France* and *Sweden*, and deſir'd we would make the Communication of them; which we did for form, though we knew that thoſe Miniſters had been before poſſeſs'd of them from the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors themſelves. And ſome few Days after, they enter'd into Conferences upon this Project at the *French* Ambaſſadors Houſes, whom they found very eaſy in the Terms the *Dutch* inſiſted on for their Commerce;

which was all that could make any Difficulty between them.

1677. ABOUT the End of *April*, the Miniſters of the Allies came, and preſented us their ſeveral Anſwers in Writing to the *French* Propoſitions; which they offer'd to leave with us, whenever we ſhould aſſure them that the *French* and *Swedes* were ready with theirs. Upon this Communication given to the *French*, they were poſitive to give no Anſwer in writing, nor to receive any, alledging both Reaſon and Example for their Opinion; *this* from the Practice of the *Munſter* Treaty, *that* from the Danger of the invective Stile or Language that are apt to enter into the Writings of each Party upon ſuch Occaſions. The Allies were for ſome time as peremptory in their Reſolution of delivering their Anſwers in writing; but both at laſt agreed upon the Expedient we propoſed, of dictating to us what they intended ſhould be ſaid to the other Party, of our ſetting the Subſtance down in Writing, and reading it over to them firſt who dictated to us, ſo as they might be Judges whether we had rightly apprehended and expreſſed their Meaning; and yet the thing might go in our Style, and not in theirs; by which all Sharpneſs and Provocation would be avoided.

ABOUT the Middle of *May*, arriv'd Preſident Canon, Envoy from the Duke of Lorrain, and put his Maſter's Pretenſions into our Hands; upon which the Allies expected a return of thoſe from *France* upon that Duke, no room being now left for delaying them from the want of a Miniſter upon the Place; But the *French* ſaid very plainly, It was a Matter they were not inſtructed in; which the Allies receiv'd with great Stomach, and perpetual Complaints to us the Mediators; all profeſſing, they were reſolv'd not to proceed in the Treaty, without carrying on the Intereſts of that Duke, an equal Pace with their own.

ABOUT the End of *May*, arriv'd the Pope's Nuncio; whereupon the *Swediſh* and *Daniſh* Ambaſſadors reſorted immediately to us, deſiring to know how we intended to carry our ſelves in what regarded that Miniſter; profeſſing themſelves to be much in pain, being on one ſide very much preſs'd, the *Swedes* by the *French*, and the *Danes* by the *Imperialiſts* and *Spaniards*, to the Enterchange at leaſt of common Ceremonies and Civilities, with a Miniſter for whom they all with Emulation profeſs'd ſo great Reſpect and Deference; On t'other ſide, the *Swedes* and *Danes* pretended neither to have Inſtruction nor Example from their reſpective Courts, to determine them in this Matter;

but ſaid they were reſolv'd to obſerve and conſider the ſteps that ſhould be made by us. We cut the Buſineſs very ſhort, and declar'd to them our Reſolution to have no ſort of Commerce with the Pope's Nuncio, either in the Affairs of our Function, or in matters of Ceremony; and told them, our Orders from Court were ſo preciſe in this Point, that they would admit of no Debate. The next Day, Monſieur Colbert and Monſieur D'Avaux came formally to give us part of the Nuncio's Arrival, and of his Deſire to make us his firſt Compliments, if he might know they would be receiv'd: Our Anſwer to them was the ſame we had made to the *Swedes* and *Danes*; and ſoon after, all the Miniſters of Proteſtant Princes at *Nimeguen*, reſolv'd to follow our Example, and to have no Commerce at all with the Nuncio.

ABOUT the ſame time, after many Meſſages carried by us between the Parties, they were perſuaded at laſt into the Agreement of delivering and exchanging by our Hands, their Anſwers to each others Propoſitions in writing, tho without pretending to purſue that Method in the ſucceeding Paces of the Negotiation. Nor was there need of that Caution, for this I take to have been the laſt Pace of any free and general Negotiation between the Parties engag'd in the War and in the Treaty;

nor were the Anſwers any thing nearer agreeing, than the firſt Propoſitions.

THE laſt Day of *May*, arriv'd the Marqueſs DE BALBACES, Firſt Ambaſſador from *Spain*; and about the ſame Time, my Lord BERKLEY return'd into *England*, where he languiſh'd out the reſt of the Summer, and died.

ABOUT the Seventh of *June*, the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors brought us the Project of a Treaty between them and *France*, digeſted and extended in all its Forms and Articles; and told us ſoon after, They had, in a Conference upon it with the *French* Ambaſſadors, agreed, in a Manner, all the Points of it; at leaſt that there remain'd but Two, which concern'd Commerce only, undetermin'd between them; which they doubted not wou'd be agreed likewiſe upon Return of the *French* Diſpatches from Court: That after their Buſineſs was ended, they wou'd perform the beſt Offices they cou'd between their Allies and the *French*. And indeed, by the Beginning of *July*, all Points were accordingly agreed between the *French* and *Dutch*, and Monſieur VAN BEVERNING began to play the Part of ſomething more than a Mediator; preſſing on his Allies towards a Peace with Paces very earneſt and ſomething rough, and, as ſome believ'd, more than he had Order for from his Maſters, who yet pretended to hold Hands with their Allies. But Monſieur VAN BEVERNING profeſs'd to believe, that their Friends at the *Hague* were impos'd upon by VAN BEUNINGHEN and the *Spaniſh* Miniſters at *London*, who ſtill animated them with Hopes of the King's entering into the War, or at leaſt preſcribing a Plan of the Peace to be receiv'd by all Parties; which VAN BEVERNING believ'd neither one nor t'other of, and pretended to be morally aſſur'd of his Opinion, and thereupon grounded the abſolute Neceſſity of a Peace.

IN this Month, the Duke of ZELL began to make a Difficulty of ſending the Five Thouſand Men he had promis'd to the Allies, without ſome new Stipulations: And the *French* offer'd a Guaranty to the Houſe of LUNENBURG of all their Conqueſts on the *Swede* in *Bremen*, upon a Neutrality to be declar'd by thoſe Dukes; which began to give great Umbrages to the Allies, as well as the *Swedes*, of ſome ſeparate Meaſures like to be concluded between *France* and the whole Houſe of BRUNSWICK. The *Dutch* Ambaſſadors were likewiſe in Pain, upon new Intelligence, both from *Vienna* and *Madrid*, about a Separate Peace being treated between DON JOHN and the *French*; with an Exchange of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* for what ſhou'd be reſtor'd them in *Rouſſillon* and *Sicily*. The Miniſters of the Confederates made great Inſtances in *England*, That His Majeſty wou'd recal his Troops that were in the *French* Service, attributing moſt of their Succeſſes in *Germany* to the Bravery of thoſe *Engliſh* Regiments. But His Majeſty excus'd it upon the Equality of a Mediator, ſince there were *Engliſh* Troops of greater Number in the Service of the Allies: Who took this Anſwer however for an ill Sign of that Proſecution which they hop'd from His Majeſty for the Relief of their languiſhing Affairs. The Hopes of thoſe great Actions promis'd by the *Imperialiſts* this Summer on the *Rhine* began to flat, their Troops finding no Subſiſtence in thoſe Countries, which had been wholly deſolated by the *French* in the Beginning of the Year, to prevent their March. The Prince of ORANGE obſerving all theſe Circumſtances, and foreſeeing no Reſource for the Intereſts of the Allies, unleſs from His Majeſty; and that it was likely to prove an unactive Summer in *Flanders*, the *French* reſolving not to come to a Battel, and he not able to form a Siege, and oppoſe a *French* Army that ſhou'd come to relieve it; he ſent Monſieur BENTINCK over into *England* about the Beginning of *June*, to deſire His Majeſty's Leave that he might make a Journey thither ſo ſoon as the Campaign ended. He receiv'd a Civil Anſwer; but with Wiſhes from the King, That he wou'd firſt think of making the Peace, and rather defer his Journey till that were concluded.

ABOUT the Middle of *June*, my Son came over to me at *Nimeguen*, and brought me Letters from my Lord Treaſurer, to ſignify His Majeſty's Pleaſure that I ſhou'd come over, and enter upon the Secretary of State's Office, which Mr. COVENTRY had offer'd His Majeſty to lay down upon the Payment of Ten Thouſand Pounds: That the King wou'd pay Half the Money, and I muſt lay down the reſt at preſent; tho' his Lordſhip did not doubt but the King wou'd find the Way of eaſing me in Time of that too. I writ immediately to my Lord Treaſurer to make my Acknowledgment to His Majeſty; but at the ſame Time my Excuſes, That I was not in a Condition to lay down ſuch a Sum, my Father being ſtill alive, and keeping the Eſtate of the Family; and deſiring that the King's Intention might at leaſt be reſpited, till he ſaw how the preſent Treaty was like to determine. In Return of my Letters, on the Second of *July*, Mr. SMITH, one of the King's Meſſengers, being ſent Expreſs, and making great Diligence, arriv'd at *Ni-*

miguen, and brought me His Majeſty's Commands to repair immediately over in a Yacht which he had ſent on Purpoſe for me: In Obedience to this Command I left *Nimeguen*, but without any Ceremony, pretending only a ſudden Journey into *England*, but ſaying nothing of the Occaſion, further than to my neareſt Friends.

AT my Arrival, the King ask'd me many Queſtions about my Journey, about the Congreſs, *draping* us for ſpending him ſo much Money, and doing nothing; and about Sir LIONEL, asking me how I had bred him, and how he paſs'd among the Ambaſſadors there; and other Pleaſantries upon that Subject. After a good deal of this kind of Converſation, he told me, I knew for what he had ſent for me over, and that 'twas what he had long intended; and I was not to thank him, becauſe he did not know any Body elſe to bring into that Place. I told His Majeſty, That 'twas too great a Compliment for me, but was a very ill one to my Country, and which I thought it did not deſerve: That I believ'd there were a great many in it fit for That, or any other Place he had to give; and I cou'd name Two in a Breath that I wou'd undertake ſhou'd make better Secretaries of State than I. The King ſaid, Go, get you gone to *Sheen*, we ſhall have no Good of you till you have been there; and when you have reſted your ſelf, come up again. I never ſaw him in better Humour, nor ever knew a more agreeable Converſation when he was ſo; and where he was pleas'd to be familiar, great Quickneſs of Conception, great Pleaſantneſs of Wit, with great Variety of Knowledge, more Obſervation and truer Judgment of Men, than one wou'd have imagin'd by ſo careleſs and eaſy a Manner as was natural to him in all he ſaid or did. From his own Temper, he deſir'd nothing but to be eaſy himſelf, and that every Body elſe ſhou'd be ſo; and wou'd have been glad to ſee the leaſt of his Subjects pleas'd, and to refuſe no Man what he ask'd. But this Softneſs of Temper made him apt to fall into the Perſwaſions of whoever had his Kindneſs and Confidence for the Time, how different ſoever from the Opinions he was of before; and he was very eaſy to change Hands, when thoſe he employ'd ſeem'd to have engag'd him in any Difficulties: So as nothing look'd ſteddy in the Conduct of his Affairs, nor aim'd at any certain End. Yet ſure no Prince has more Qualities to make him lov'd, with a great many to make him eſteem'd, and all without a Grain of Pride or Vanity in his whole Conſtitution: Nor can he ſuffer Flattery in any Kind, growing uneaſy upon the firſt Approaches of it, and turning it off to ſomething elſe. But this Humour has made him loſe many great Occaſions of Glory to himſelf, and Greatneſs to his Crown, which the Conjunctures of his Reign conſpir'd to put into his Hand; and have made Way for the aſpiring Thoughts and Deſigns of a Neighbour Prince, which wou'd not have appear'd, or cou'd not have ſucceeded, in the World, without the Applications and Arts employ'd to manage this eaſy and inglorious Humour of the King.

I ſtaid Two Days at *Sheen*, in which Time ſome of Secretary COVENTRY's Friends had prevail'd with him not to part with his Place, if he cou'd help it, unleſs the King wou'd let him recommend the Perſon to ſucceed him, who ſhou'd pay all the Money he expected, and which the King had charg'd himſelf with. When I came to Town, the King told me in his Cloſet, all that had paſs'd between him and Mr. COVENTRY the Day before upon this Occaſion: That he did not underſtand what he meant, nor what was at the Bottom; for he had firſt ſpoke to His Majeſty about parting with his Place, ſaid his Health wou'd not go thro' with it, made the Price he expected for it, and concluded all before he had ſent for me over: That now he pretended he did not mean to quit it, unleſs he might preſent one to ſucceed him; and he hop'd he had not deſerv'd His Majeſty ſhou'd turn him out. But the King ſaid upon it, That, under Favour, he was reſolv'd to take him at his Word; and ſo he had told him, and left him to digeſt it as he cou'd. Upon this I repreſented to the King, How old and true a Servant Mr. COVENTRY had been of his Father and Him; how well he had ſerv'd him in this Place; how well he was able to do it ſtill by the great Credit he had in the Houſe of Commons, where the King's great Buſineſs lay in the ill State of his Revenue; how ill ſuch a Treatment wou'd agree with *His* Majeſty's Nature and Cuſtoms: And for my own Part, That it wou'd be a great Favour to me to reſpite this Change, till he ſaw what was like to become of the Treaty, or the War; and therefore I begg'd of him that he wou'd not force a good Secretary out, and perhaps an ill one in, againſt both their Wills; but let Mr. COVENTRY keep it, at leaſt till he ſeem'd more willing to part with it. The King ſaid, Well then, he wou'd let it alone for the preſent, but did not doubt, in a little Time, one or other of us wou'd change our Mind.

IN the mean Time, the Deſign of my Journey was known, my Lord ARLINGTON and others ſtill asking me when they ſhou'd give me Joy of it, and many making Applications to me for Places in the Office; which made the Court uneaſier to me, and increas'd my known Humour of loving the Country, and being as much in it as I cou'd. However, when I came to Court, the King fell often into Converſation with me, and often in his Cloſet alone, or with none other preſent beſides the Duke or my Lord Treaſurer, and often both. The Subject of theſe Converſations was uſually the Peace, and the Prince of ORANGE's Journey into *England*. The King always expreſs'd a great Deſire for the Firſt, but not at all for the other till that was concluded. He ſaid, his Parliament wou'd never be quiet nor eaſy to him while the War laſted abroad: They had got it into their Heads to draw him into it, whether he wou'd or no: That they pretended publick Ends, and Dangers from *France*; and there might be both meant by a great many honeſt Men among them; but the Heats and Diſtempers of late had been rais'd by ſome factious Leaders, who thought more of themſelves than of any thing elſe, had a Mind to engage him in a War, and then leave him in it, unleſs they might have their Terms in removing and filling of Places; and he was very loath to be ſo much at their Mercy, as he ſhou'd be if he were once engag'd in the War: That beſides, he ſaw the longer it continu'd, the worſe it wou'd be for the Confederates; more of *Flanders* wou'd be loſt every Day; the Conduct of *Spain* muſt certainly ruine all in Time; and therefore he wou'd fain have the Prince make the Peace for them, if they wou'd not do it for themſelves: That if he and the Prince cou'd fall into the Terms of it, he was ſure it might be done. And, after ſeveral Diſcourſes upon this Subject for near a Month, His Majeſty at laſt told me, He had a great Mind I ſhou'd make a ſhort Turn to the Prince, and try if I cou'd perſwade him to it; and aſſure him, That after it was agreed, he ſhou'd be the gladdeſt in the World to ſee him in *England*. The Duke and my Lord Treaſurer both preſs'd me upon the ſame Point; but I told them, at a long Conference upon it, how often I had been employ'd upon this Errand to the Prince, how unmovable I had found him, and how ſure I was to find him ſo ſtill, unleſs the King wou'd conſider of another Scheme for the Peace than had been yet propos'd to him, and wherein he might reckon upon more Safety to *Flanders*, as well as to his own Honour: That I had ſpent all my Shot, and was capable of ſaying no more to him than I had done, in Obedience to all the Inſtructions I had receiv'd: That his Anſwers had been poſitive; ſo that ſome of my good Friends at Court pretended they had been my own Thoughts rather than the Prince's: That His Majeſty wou'd do well to try another Hand; and he wou'd the better know the Prince's Mind, if his Anſwers were the ſame to both; if not, he wou'd at leaſt know how ill I had ſerv'd him. The King ſaid, It was a Thing of Confidence between him and the Prince, and muſt be ſo treated, and he knew no Body he had beſides to ſend. I told him, if he pleas'd I wou'd name one: He bid me; and I ſaid, Mr. HIDE was idle ever ſince his Return from *Nimeguen*, had been enter'd into the Commiſſion of the Mediators there, ſtaid with us a Fortnight or Three Weeks, might pretend to return thither to exerciſe the ſame Function in my Abſence, ſince the Commiſſion run to any Two of the Number, and might take the Prince of ORANGE's Camp in his Way to *Nimeguen*, perform the King's Commands to His Highneſs, inform himſelf of his laſt Reſolution upon the Subject of the Peace, go on to *Nimeguen*, without giving any Jealouſy to the Allies, or without the Noiſe that my going wou'd make, ſince Sir LIONEL had writ to Court and to me, That Monſieur VAN BEVERNING had deſir'd all Paces ſhou'd ſtop there till my Return, which he heard would be ſudden and that the King wou'd ſend by me his own Plan of the Peace. The Duke fell in firſt to the Propoſal of Mr. Hide's going; and, after ſome Debate, the King, and my Lord Treaſurer, and that it ſhou'd be as ſoon as poſſible. He was ſent for accordingly, and diſpatch'd away in all Points as I had propos'd. He found the Prince at the Camp, but unmovable in the Buſineſs of the Peace upon the Terms His Majeſty had Thoughts of proceeding; gave Account of all that paſs'd in that Conference to the King, and went ſtraight away to *Nimeguen*, and writ me Word of his Converſation with the Prince, and that he never ſaw ſuch a Firmneſs in any Man.

I knew Mr. Hide's going to reſide at *Nimeguen* wou'd be of great Comfort and Support to Sir Lionel, who was in perpetual Agonies (as his Word was) after he was left alone in that Station; having ever ſo much Diſtruſt of his own Judgment, that tho' he had the greateſt Deſire that cou'd be to do well, yet he many Times cou'd not reſolve how to go about it; and was often as much perplex'd about the little Punctilioes of Viſit and Ceremony that were left to buſy that Ambaſſy, as if greater Affairs had ſtill attended it. Beſides, he lay under the Laſh of Secretary Williamson, who, upon old Grudges between them at *Co-*

logne, never fail'd to lay hold of any Occaſion he cou'd to cenſure his Conduct, and expoſe it at the Foreign Committee, where his Letters were read to His Majeſty. It happen'd about this Time, that the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors firſt appearing in publick upon a new Commiſſion to all Three, gave immediate Notice of it to the Imperialiſts, who made their Viſit upon it, and were within Two Hours reviſited by the *Spaniards*. After which, they ſent their formal Notifications to all the other Ambaſſadors, and to the Mediators in the firſt Place. Sir LIONEL was in Pain, having Orders to pretend the firſt Rank of Reſpect before the Imperialiſts, as well as other Ambaſſadors there; and not to yield if it came in Competition. He had likewiſe another Order, which was, that upon Matters in Ceremony, doubtful, and not admitting the Delay of new Orders, he ſhou'd conſult with the other Ambaſſadors, eſpecially *French* and *Swediſh*, who us'd to carry thoſe Points the higheſt, and govern himſelf as well as he cou'd by Preſidents and Examples. He conſulted both theſe Ambaſſadors, whether he ſhou'd viſit the *Spaniards*, after their having given the firſt Notice to the Imperialiſts? And they concluded, That he ſhou'd firſt know of them, whether it was done in Form, as to Ambaſſadors in general; or whether it was upon the Account of the near Alliance in Blood between thoſe Two Houſes of AUSTRIA? That if it were the Firſt, he ought not to viſit them, as having put a Diſreſpect upon the Mediation, and diſtinguiſh'd the Emperour from all the other Crown'd Heads, who had yielded the Precedence wholly to them; which they wou'd not have done, if the Emperour had refus'd it. But if the *Spaniards* affirm'd it was only upon the Nearneſs of Blood between them, none of the other Ambaſſadors need take any Notice of it, ſince the ſame had been done between thoſe Two Crowns at *Munſter* upon the ſame Score; which being there declar'd, it gave no Offence to the Mediators, tho' they were the Pope's Nuncioes, with whom there was otherwiſe no competition. Sir LIONEL was ſatisfied by the *Spaniards* (who gave it him in writing), that the Viſits were made only upon the ſcore of Kindred, as at *Munſter*; and thereupon made them his Viſit, and received theirs. For which he was ſharply reprov'd by Secretary WILLIAMSON's Letter upon it; who had repreſented it to the King as a Diſobedience to a poſitive Order, and giving up the Point to the Imperialiſts. But being at Court ſoon after theſe Diſpatches, I endeavoured to juſtify my Colleague's Intentions and his Proceedings, by ſhewing that he had conform'd to his other Orders of conſulting the other Ambaſſadors, and proceeding according to the beſt Preſident, which was that at *Munſter*; and that if he had broken with the *Spaniards* upon this Point, he would have provok'd the Imperialiſts to declare their reſolution of not yielding to the Mediators, upon which the other Ambaſſadors would recall the Conceſſion which they had already made in this Point, and ſo hazard, if not loſe, the Poſſeſſion his Majeſty was in, of the firſt Reſpect given to his Mediation. I had the good fortune to ſatiſfy his Majeſty and his Miniſters, and to obtain Orders for His gracious Pardon to be ſent Sir LIONEL (for they would ſuffer it to run in no other Terms); for which however the poor Gentleman made as great Acknowledgments, as if his Fault had been much greater and worſe meant.

THE reſt of this Summer paſs'd without any further Paces made in the Congreſs at *Nimeguen*; where the Meſſages carried and return'd about the Buſineſs of LORRAIN, ſerv'd to keep the Mediators in countenance, and no more. The whole Body of the Allies preſs'd for an Anſwer from the *French* to that Duke's Pretenſions, delivered in by Preſident CANON. The *French*, after their former Exception of his wanting a Miniſter there, rais'd another to ſtave off theſe Inſtances of the Allies, and declar'd they could give no anſwer about LORRAIN, till the Biſhop of STRASBURG's Agents were receiv'd by the Allies, upon which the Emperor made an invincible Difficulty, declaring he would never treat with a Vaſſal of his own: And in theſe Conferences about LORRAIN, the *French* Ambaſſadors began to inſinuate to the Mediators, That their Maſter never intended That to be treated as a Principal, but only as an Acceſſary to the Treaty.

IN *Auguſt*, arriv'd at *Nimeguen* the Biſhop of GURCK, chief of the Imperial Ambaſſy, and Count ANTOINE, of that from *Denmark*: The firſt was immediately viſited by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, and return'd it; after which he ſent his Notifications to the Mediators, and from them to the other Ambaſſadors; upon which no Difficulty was made by them, ſince the Biſhop made the ſame Declaration the *Spaniards* had done before upon the like occaſion, that the firſt Viſits paſſing between the Miniſters of the two Houſes of AUSTRIA, were Viſits of Kindneſs and Conſanguinity, and not of Ceremony. But Count ANTOINE fell into endleſs Difficulties upon his firſt arrival. He intended to have ſent his firſt Notification to the Mediators, as others had done; but the *Imperialiſts* having notice of this Intention,

tention, ſent him direct word, they expected the firſt Reſpect ſhould be given the Emperor; and this was the firſt time they own'd that Pretenſion, in prejudice of the Honour hitherto done to the King's Mediation. Count **ANTOINE** ſent Monſieur **HEUG**, his Colleague, to acquaint the Mediators with this Incident, and deſire them to find out ſome Expedient: They excuſed themſelves, alledging their poſitive Orders to expect the firſt Notification. The *Danes* were as unwilling to diſoblige His Majeſty, as the Emperor; and found no temper in this matter, after many offer'd both by *French* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors; ſo that Count **ANTOINE**, reſolv'd to leave it undecided, and to give no Notifications, or receive or make any Viſits; but however aſſiſted at the Conferences among the Allies, and made a part of all the Evening Entertainments, at Play and in Converſation, in the Apartments of the ſeveral Ambaſſadrices; And this courſe he obſerv'd, during his ſtay at *Nimeguen*, which was ſeven or eight Months: For the reſt, a Perſon very much eſteem'd for his generous Qualities, and Gentlemanly Humour and Converſation, and yielding to none upon the Place in the Greatneſs and Splendor of his Equipage; wherein the Marqueſs **DE BALBACES**, and Count **ANTOINE** ſeem'd to diſtinguiſh themſelves from all the reſt.

ABOUT the End of *July*, the Prince of ORANGE made an Attempt upon *Charleroy*, rather than a Siege. This had been before concerted with the Duke of LORRAIN, who made a mien of entring into *Champagne*, on purpoſe to draw off the *French* Forces from attending the Prince's Motions and Deſign upon *Charleroy*. The Prince had hopes to take it by Surprize; but found thoſe of the Garriſon upon their Guard, and very ſtrong, as well as the Place, which had been fortified with all the force of Art and Expence, that could be employ'd upon a Place of that Compaſs. He ſat down before it, and would have beſieg'd it in form, if the Duke of LORRAIN could have diverted the *French* Army from relieving it; but Monſieur DE LOUVOIS, with great diligence, leaving the Marſhal DE CREQUI with Force enough to face that Duke, aſſembled a very great Army for the Relief of *Charleroy*; upon approach whereof, the Prince call'd a Council of War, to reſolve whether to march and fight the *French* Army, or raiſe the Siege. The laſt was reſolv'd, upon debate at the Council, and accordingly executed; and therewith ended this Compaign in *Flanders*. But this March and Retreat of the Prince, paſs'd not without many Reflections, not only among the Allies, but in *Holland* too, as if he had given over the Deſign upon ſome Intelligences and Expreſſes between Him and the King about this time. Monſieur BENTINCK had gone over and return'd, without any Body's knowing his Buſineſs: My Lord OSSORY happen'd to arrive in the Camp, the day before the Council of War, upon which the Siege was rais'd; which made many think, ſomething his Lordſhip brought from *England*, was the occaſion of it. But I could never find there was any thing more in his Journey than the hopes of ſeeing a Battel (which was ever a particular Inclination of my Lord OSSORY) and a Caſt of my Lord ARLINGTON to preſerve himſelf in the Prince's Favour and Confidence as much as he could, by my Lord OSSORY's keeping cloſe to him, at a time when he ſaw the Buſineſs of *Chriſtendom* roll ſo much upon the Perſon of the Prince.

ABOUT this time, the Aſſembly at *Nimeguen* ſeem'd in danger of being broken by a paſſionate Motion the *Swedes* made in it. There had been a long Conteſt ſince it firſt began, between the *Swedes* and *Danes*, about Freedom of Paſſage for the *Swediſh* Couriers through the *Daniſh* Territories, for managing the Correſpondencies neceſſary with their Court. The *Danes* pretended the example of *France*, who refus'd the ſame Liberty to the *Spaniards*. This Diſpute had been manag'd by many Meſſages, wherewith the Mediators had been charg'd between the Parties, wherein the Allies of both ſides took equal part. Sometimes the matter had been Treated with very Preſſing Inſtances, and ſometimes with Fainter; ſometimes almoſt let fall, and then again reſum'd; and thus for above a Year paſt: but about this time, the *Swedes* come to the Mediators, deſire their Offices once more to the *Danes* upon this Subject, and declare, that without this Liberty inſiſted upon ſo long for their Couriers, they find themſelves incapable of giving Advices neceſſary to their Court, or receiving Orders neceſſary from it; and that without it, they muſt be forc'd to leave the Aſſembly. This Reſolution of the *Swedes* continued for ſome time ſo Peremptory, that it was expected to come to that Iſſue; but after ſome *Fougue* ſpent for about a fortnight or three weeks upon this occaſion, and ſome Temperament found out by the *Dutch* for the ſecure and ſpeedy paſſage of all the *Swediſh* Diſpatches by *Amſterdam*, thoſe Ambaſſadors began to grow ſoft and calm again, and to go on their uſual Paces. Soon after, the *French* Ambaſſadors, who had Treated the *Swediſh* Affairs and Miniſters with great indifferency and neglect in this Treaty, (declaring to Monſieur VAN BEVERNING, their Maſter would not part with one Town in *Flanders*, to reſtore the *Swedes* to all they had loſt) began wholly to change their Language, and ſay upon all occaſions, That *France* could not make a Peace without the full Satisfaction and Reſtitution of the *Swedes*; and it was diſcours'd, that the *French* and *Swedes* had enter'd into a new Allyance at *Paris* to this purpoſe; And ſome believ'd, it was by Concert between them, that this *Atteinte* was given by the *Swedes* to the Congreſs; that the *French* had at that time a mind to break it, and to enter into a Treaty with *Spain* under the Pope's direction, and at *Rome*, not knowing to what meaſures His Majeſty might be induc'd upon the Progreſs of the *French* Conqueſts, and the Diſtempers Raiſed in His Parliament upon that occaſion. But this Guſt blown over, all was becalm'd at *Nimeguen*; ſo that Monſieur OLIVECRANS left that Place ~~about the end of *Auguſt*, upon a Journey~~ to *Sweden*.

TILL this time the Motions of Buſineſs had been reſpited in the Aſſembly, upon a general expectation that the King was ſending me over ſuddenly with the Plan of a Peace that he reſolv'd ſhould be made, and to which it was not doubted but all Parties would yield, whatever it was; ſo great a Regard was held on all ſides, of His Majeſty's Will and Power.

But a greater Stop was yet given to all further Paces there, by the Prince of ORANGE's Journey into *England*, about the end of *September* 1677. which wholly chang'd the Scene of this Treaty, and for the preſent carried it over to *London*, and left all other places at a gaze only, and in expectation of what ſhould be there agitated and concluded.

CHAP. III.

THE Prince, like a haſty Lover, came Poſt from *Harwich* to *New-market*, where the Court then was, as a Seaſon and Place of Country Sports. My Lord ARLINGTON attended his Highneſs at his alighting, making his Pretence of the chief Confidence with him; and the Court expected it upon his Alliance and Journeys into *Holland*. My Lord Treaſurer and I went together to wait on him, but met him upon the middle of the Stairs, in a great Croud, coming down to the King. He whiſper'd to us both together, and ſaid to me, That he muſt deſire me to anſwer for Him and my Lord Treaſurer, one to another, ſo as they might from that time enter both into Buſineſs and Converſation, as if they had been of a longer Acquaintance; which was a wiſe Strain, conſidering his Lordſhip's Credit in Court at that time; and was of great uſe to the Prince in the Courſe of his Affairs then in *England*; and tho' it much ſhock'd my Lord ARLINGTON and his Friends, yet it could not be wonder'd at by ſuch as knew what had paſs'd of late between the Prince and him, with whom he only liv'd in common forms during his Stay. He was very kindly receiv'd by the King and the Duke, who both invited him often into diſcourſes of Buſineſs, which they wonder'd to ſee him avoid or divert induſtriouſly, ſo as the King bid me find out the reaſon of it. The Prince told me, he was reſolv'd to ſee the Young Princeſs before he enter'd into Affair; and to proceed in that, before the other of the Peace. The King laugh'd at this piece of Niceety when I told it Him; But however, to humour him in it, ſaid he would go ſome days ſooner than he had intended from *New-market*, which was accordingly done.

THE Prince upon his arrival in Town, and ſight of the Princeſs, was ſo pleas'd with her Perſon, and all thoſe ſigns of ſuch a humour as had been deſcrib'd to him upon former inquiries, that he immediately made his Suit to the King and the Duke; which was very well receiv'd and aſſented to, but with this condition, That the Terms of a Peace abroad might be firſt agreed on between them. The Prince excuſed himſelf, and ſaid he muſt end his firſt buſineſs before he began the other. The King and Duke were both poſitive in their opinion; and the Prince reſolute in his; and ſaid at laſt, That his Allies, who were like to have hard terms of the Peace as things then ſtood, would be apt to believe that he had made this Match at their coſt, and for his part he would never ſell his Honour for a Wife. This prevail'd not, but the King continued ſo poſitive for three or four days, that my Lord Treaſurer and I began to doubt the whole buſineſs would break upon this punctilio. About that time I chanc'd to go to the Prince after ſupper, and found him in the worſt humour that I ever ſaw him; he told me, he repented he had ever come into *England*, and reſolv'd he would ſtay but two days longer, and then be gone, if the King continued in his mind of treating upon the Peace before he was married; but that before he went, the King muſt chuſe how they ſhould live hereafter, for he was ſure it muſt be either like the greateſt Friends, or the greateſt Enemies; and deſired me to let His Majeſty know ſo next morning, and give him account of what he ſhould ſay upon it. I did ſo, early in the morning, told the King all the Prince had ſaid to me the night before, and the ill conſequences of a breach between them, conſidering the ill humour of ſo many of his Subjects upon our late meaſures with *France*, and the invitations made the Prince by ſeveral of them, during the late War. The King heard me with great attention, and when I had done, ſaid, Well, I never yet was deceiv'd in judging of a man's Honeſty by his Looks, (of which he gave me ſome examples) and if I am not deceiv'd in the Prince's face, he is the honeſteſt man in the World, and I will truſt him, and he ſhall have his Wife, and you ſhall go immediately and tell my Brother ſo, and that 'tis a thing I am reſolv'd on. I did ſo, and the Duke at firſt ſeem'd a little ſurpriz'd; but when I had done, He ſaid, The King ſhall be obey'd, and I would be glad all His Subjects would learn of me to obey Him: I do tell Him my Opinion very freely upon any thing; but when that is done, and I know his pleaſure upon it, I obey Him. From the Duke I went to the Prince, and told him my Story; which he could at firſt hardly believe, but embrac'd me, and ſaid I had made him a very happy Man, and very unexpectedly: And ſo I left him to give the King an account of what had paſs'd, and in the Prince's Anti-chamber met my Lord Treaſurer, and told him the Story, who undertook to adjuſt all the reſt between the King and the Prince; which he did ſo well, that the Match was declared that Evening at the Committee, before any other in Court knew any thing of it; and next day it was declar'd in Council, and receiv'd there and everywhere elſe in the Kingdom, with the moſt univerſal Joy that I ever ſaw any thing in the King's Reign. The *French* Ambaſſador, and my Lord

ARLINGTON appear'd the only two Perſons unſatisfied upon it at Court; the firſt not knowing how he ſhould anſwer it to his Maſter, That an Affair of that importance ſhould paſs without his Communication, much leſs Advice, in a Court where nothing before had been done ſo for many Years; and my ARLINGTON, That it ſhould paſs without his knowledge, who ſtill endeavour'd to keep up the Court-opinion of his Confidence with the Prince; who told me the Compliment his Lordſhip had made him upon it, That ſome things good in themſelves were ſpoil'd by the manner of doing them, as ſome things bad were mended by it; But he would confeſs this was a thing ſo good in it ſelf, that the Manner of doing it could not ſpoil it.

WITHIN two or three days the Marriage was conſummated, and immediately after they fell into the Debates upon the Terms of the Peace; to which, as to that of the Match, none but my Lord Treaſurer and I were admitted. The Prince inſiſted hard upon the Strength and Enlargement of a Frontier on both Sides of *Flanders*; without which, *France*, he ſaid, would end this War with the View of beginning another, and carrying *Flanders* in one Campaign. The King was content to leave that Buſineſs a little looſer; upon the Confidence that *France* was ſo weary of this War, that if they could get out of it with Honour, they would never begin another in this Reign; That the King grew paſt his Youth, and Lazy, and would turn to the Pleaſures of the Court, and Building, and leave his Neighbours in Quiet. The Prince thought *France* would not make a Peace now, but to break the preſent Confederacy, and to begin another War with more Advantage and Surprize; That their Ambition would never end, till they had all *Flanders* and *Germany* to the *Rhine*, and thereby *Holland* in an abſolute Dependance upon them; which would leave Them in an ill Condition, and Us in no good One: And that *Chriſtendom* could not be left Safe by the Peace, without ſuch a Frontier as he Propos'd for *Flanders*, and the Reſtitution of *Lorrain*, as well as what the Emperour had loſt in *Alſace*. Upon this I told the King, That in the Courſe of my Life, I had never obſerv'd Mens Natures to alter by Age or Fortunes; but that a good Boy made a good Man; and a young Coxcomb, an old Fool; and a young *Fripon*, an old Knave; and that quiet Spirits were ſo, young as well as old, and unquiet Ones would be ſo old as well as young; That I believ'd the King of *France* would always have ſome Bent or other, ſometimes War, ſometimes

Love, ſometimes Building; but that I was of the Prince's Opinion, That He would ever make Peace with a deſign of a new War, after He had fix'd His Conqueſt by the laſt: And the King approv'd what I ſaid. The Points of *Lorrain* and *Alſace* were eaſily agreed to by the King and Duke; but they would not hear of the County of *Burgundy*, as what *France* could never be brought to, tho' the Prince inſiſted much upon it; ſo as the King imagin'd He was touch'd by the Intereſt of his own Lands in that County (which are greater and more *Seigneurial* than thoſe of the Crown of *Spain* there) and thereupon told him, That for his Lands He would charge himſelf with either his enjoying them as ſafely under *France* as *Spain*; or if he ſhould rather chuſe to part with them than have that Dependance, He would undertake to get him what Price he ſhould himſelf Value them at. But the Prince anſwer'd bruskly and generouſly, That he ſhould not trouble himſelf nor the Peace about that Matter; and that he would be content to loſe All his Lands there, to get One good Town more for the *Spaniards* upon the Frontier of *Flanders*; ſo all Difficulties began to terminate upon what was eſteem'd neceſſary there. This admitted great Debates between the King and Prince; one pretending *France* would never be brought to one Scheme; and t'other, that *Spain* would never conſent to the other. But at the laſt it was agreed, That the Peace ſhould be made upon theſe Terms, All to be reſtor'd by *France* to the Empire and Emperor that had been taken in the War; the Dutchy of *Lorrain* to that Duke; and all on both Sides between *France* and *Holland*; and to *Spain* the Towns of *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, *Oudenarde*, *Courtray*, *Tournay*, *Conde*, *Valenciennes*, St. *Ghiſlain*, and *Binch*. That the Prince ſhould endeavour to procure the Conſent of *Spain*, and His Majeſty that of *France*; for which purpoſe he ſhould ſend ſome Perſon immediately over with the Propoſition, who ſhould be inſtructed to enter into no Reaſonings upon it, but demand a poſitive Anſwer in Two Days, and after that Term immediately return. The Queſtion was, Who ſhould go? and my Lord Treaſurer ſaid, it muſt be He or I, for none elſe had been acquainted with the Debate of this Buſineſs. The Prince ſaid, It muſt be I, for my Lord Treaſurer could not be ſpar'd; and it muſt be ſome Perſon upon whoſe Judgment and Truth he could rely, as to the Intentions of that Court. The King order'd me to be ready in Two Days, which I was; and the Evening before I was to go, meeting His Majeſty in the Park, he call'd me to him, and, a little out of Countenance, told me, He had been thinking of my Journey and Errand, and how unwelcome I ſhould be in *France* as well as my Meſſage; and having a Mind to gain the Peace, he was unwilling to anger them more than needs. Beſides, the thing being not to be Reaſon'd or Debated, any Body elſe would ſerve the Turn as well as I, whom he had other uſe of; and therefore he had been thinking to ſend ſome other Perſon. I ſaw he doubted I would take it ill; but told him, and very truly, he would do me the greateſt Pleaſure in the World; for I never had leſs Mind to any Journey in my Life, and ſhould not have accepted it, but in perfect Obedience. The King, that was the gentleſt Prince in the World of his own Nature, fell into good Humour upon ſeeing I took it not Ill, pretended to think whom he ſhould ſend, and at laſt ask'd me what I thought of my Lord DURAS? I ſaid, Very well; upon which he ſeem'd to reſolve it. But the thing had been agreed in the Morning, as I was told, upon the Duke's Deſire, who thought *France* would accept the Terms, and that the Peace would be made, and had a Mind to have the Honour of it, by ſending a Servant of his own. Whether there were any other Motive, I know not; but my Lord DURAS went immediately with the Orders before mention'd; and ſome few Days after, the Prince and Princeſs embarqu'd for *Holland*, where Affairs preſſed his Return beyond the Hopes of my Lord Duras from *France*; the King aſſuring him, He would never part from the leaſt Point of the Scheme ſent over, and would enter into the War againſt *France*, if they refus'd it. However, he went not away without a great Mortification, to ſee the Parliament Prorogued to next Spring; which the *French* Ambaſſador had gain'd of the King, to make up ſome good Mien with *France* after the Prince's Marriage, and before the Diſpatch of the Terms of a Peace to that Court.

UPON my Lord Duras's Arrival at *Paris*, the Court there were Surpriz'd, both at the Thing, and more at the Manner; but made good Mien upon it, took it gently, ſaid, The King knew very well he might always be Maſter of the Peace; but ſome of the Towns in *Flanders* ſeemed very hard, eſpecially *Tournay*, upon whoſe Fortifications ſuch vaſt Treaſures had been expended; and that they would take ſome ſhort time to conſider of the Anſwer. My Lord Duras told them, he was ty'd to Two Days Stay; but when that was out, he was prevail'd with to ſtay ſome few Days longer, and to come away without a poſitive Anſwer: What he brought, was what they had ſaid to him before, That the Moſt Chriſtian King hop'd his Brother would not break with him upon one or Two Towns; but even upon them too, he would ſend Orders to his Ambaſſador at *London* to treat with His Majeſty himſelf. By this gain of time, and artificial drawing it into Treaty without any poſitive refuſal, this Blow came to be eluded, which could not eaſily have been ſo any other Way. The King was ſoftned by the ſoftneſs of *France*: The Ambaſſador ſaid at laſt, He had leave to yield all but *Tournay*, and to treat even for ſome Equivalent for that too, if the King inſiſted abſolutely upon it. The Prince was gone, who had ſpirited the vigour of the whole reſolution; and the Treaty of it began to draw out into Meſſages and Returns from *France*.

HOWEVER, the ill humour of People growing higher, upon the noiſe of a Peace, and negotiated in *France*, and the late Prorogation of Parliament, this was by Proclamation anticipated ſoon after my Lord DURAS's return, tho' a thing ſomething unuſual, and a countenance made as if the King reſolv'd to enter into the War: For which the Parliament ſeem'd impatient, whenever the King ſeem'd averſe to it; but grew jealous of ſome tricks, whenever the

Court ſeem'd inclin'd to it. About the End of *December* 1677, the King ſent for me to the Foreign Committee, and told me, he could get no poſitive Anſwer from *France*, and therefore reſolv'd to ſend me into *Holland*, to make a League there with the States, for forcing both *France* and *Spain*, if either refuſed, to make the Peace upon the Terms he had propoſed. I told the King, What he had agreed, was to enter into the War with all the Confederates, in caſe of no direct and immediate Anſwer from *France*: That this, perhaps, would ſatisfie both the Prince and Confederates abroad, and the People at home: But to make ſuch a League with *Holland* only, would ſatisfie none of them, and diſoblige both *France* and *Spain*. Beſides, it would not have an effect or force as the Tripple-Alliance had; that being a great Original, of which this ſeem'd but an ill Copy; and therefore excus'd my ſelf from going. The King was ſet upon it, tho' I pretended domeſtick Affairs of great importance upon the Death of my Father; and pleaded ſo hard, that the Duke at laſt deſir'd the King not to preſs me upon a thing I was ſo averſe from, and would be ſo inconvenient to me; and deſir'd I might propoſe who ſhould be ſent with the Treaty. I made my acknowledgments to the Duke for his favour, and propos'd, that Mr. THYNN ſhould be ſent from the

Office with a Draught of the Treaty to Mr. HIDE, who was then come from *Nimeguen* to the *Hague* upon a Viſit to the Princeſs. This was done, and the Treaty ſign'd there on the ſixteenth of *January*, though not without great difficulties and diſſatisfaction of the Prince; who was yet cover'd in it by the private Conſent of the *Spaniſh* Miniſter there, in behalf of his Maſter; ſo as the War could not break but upon *France*, in caſe of their refuſal.

IN the mean Time, *France* draws out the Treaty upon the Terms at *London* into Length, never raiſing more than one Difficulty at a Time, and expoſtulating the Unkindneſs of breaking for the ſingle Town of *Tournay*, tho' that was indeed more important than any Three of the others, being the only ſtrong one to guard that Side of the Frontier, and giving way for any ſudden Invaſion upon *Ghent* and *Antwerp* and the very Heart of the Country: But while this Game was playing in *England*, they had another on foot in *Holland*, eſpecially at *Amſterdam*, by raiſing Jealouſies of the Meaſures taken between the King and Prince upon the Marriage, as dangerous to the Liberties of *Holland*; and making it there believ'd, That by the Match, the King and Duke had drawn over the Prince wholly into their Intereſts or Sentiments; whereas the Prince went away poſſeſs'd to have by it drawn Them indeed into His. They propos'd to the *Dutch* other Terms of Peace, far ſhort of the King's, and leſs ſafe for *Flanders*; reſtoring only Six Towns to the *Spaniards*, and mentioning *Lorrain* but ambiguouſly; which wou'd not have gone down in *Holland*, but for the Suſpicions rais'd by the Prince's Marriage among the People there, who had an incurable Jealouſy of our Court, and thereupon not that Confidence of the Prince that he deſerv'd.

THERE were Two ruling Burgomaſters at *Amſterdam* at this Time, who had the whole Sway of that Town (as this has a great one in *Holland*), HOEFT and VALKENIER; the Firſt, a generous, honeſt Man, of great Patrimonial Riches, Learning, Wit, Humour, without Ambition, having always refus'd all Imployments the State had offer'd him, and ſerving only in that of Burgomaſter of his Town in his Turn, and as little buſy in it as he cou'd; a true Genius, and that ſaid Two Things to me in Converſation I had not heard before; One, That a Man who were to die to Morrow in Torment, wou'd yet enjoy to Day, if he were *Sain* [*Sound*]; and that it was ſome Diſeaſe, or Decay of Spirits, that hinder'd it. The Other, That a Man was a *Coyon* [*A ſorry Wight*], who deſir'd to live after Threeſcore; and that for his Part, after that Age, which he was then approaching, he ſhou'd be glad of the firſt good Occaſion to die: And this he made good, dying with Neglect upon a Fit of the Gout, talking with his Friends till he was juſt ſpent, then ſending them away that he might not die in their Sight; and when he found himſelf come a little again, ſending for them up, and telling them, *Qu'il y avoit encore pour une demy heure de Converſation* [*That he had Life ſtill for one Half Hour's Converſation*]. This was the Character of Monſieur HOEFT, who was a great Inclination of mine, tho' he paſs'd for a humorous Man; and told me, I was the only Ambaſſador he had ever viſited in his Life. He had all the Credit that cou'd be in his Town, without ſeeking, or minding, or uſing it; whereas VALKENIER ſought and courted it all that cou'd be, without having half the other's; being a moroſe and formal Man, but of great Induſtry, much Thought, and, as was believ'd, Avarice, and making the Turns eaſily that were neceſſary in the Government to carry his Ends. Theſe Two had long been Enemies, and thought irreconcileable, till the *French* Inſtruments at this Time, with great Art and Induſtry, made up the Quarrel, and join'd them both in the Deſign of making the Peace upon the Terms offer'd by *France*.

THE Parliament meets in *January* by Anticipation of the Seſſion, which ſeem'd to import ſomething of great Conſequence. The King acquaints them with the League he had made in *Holland*, and asks them Money upon it for putting himſelf in a Poſture to carry on the War if the Peace fail'd; which the Parliament gave him, upon the Hopes of the War, and not of the Peace. The Conſtitution of this Parliament, that had ſat Seventeen Years, was grown into Two known Factions, which were call'd, That of Court and Country: The Court Party were grown numerous, by a Practice introduc'd by my Lord CLIFFORD, of downright buying off one Man after another, as they cou'd make the Bargain. The Country Party was ſomething greater yet in Number, and kept in more Credit upon the Corruption of others, and their own Pretence of Steddineſs to the true Intereſt of the Nation, eſpecially in the Points of *France* and Popery. Where theſe came in Queſtion, many of the Court Party voted with thoſe of the Country, who then carry'd all before them; but whenever the Court ſeem'd to fall in with the true Intereſts of the Nation, eſpecially in thoſe Two Points, then many of the Country Party, meaning fairly, fell in with the Court, and carry'd the Votes; as they now did, upon the

King's Pretence to grow bold with *France*, and to reſolve upon the War if the Peace were refus'd.

IN *October*, *Friburg* had been taken by a Feinte of the Duke of CREQUI, before the Duke of LORRAIN cou'd come to relieve it; and in the ſame Month *Stetin* had been taken by the Elector of BRANDENBURG, after a Vigorous Reſiſtance: Which left the Scales as even as they were before between the Two Leagues.

IN *January*, upon the Delays of *France* to agree the King's Conditions of a Peace, His Majeſty enter'd into a Negotiation with the Miniſters of the Confederates at *London*, in caſe *France* went on to refuſe them. But the Hopes of a Peace were on a ſudden daſh'd by the *French* Attempts upon *Ypres*, and Threats of *Oſtend*, whither the King immediately ſends Forces over, at the Deſire of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, for Security of that important Place. Nor did the *French* Ambaſſador ſeem to reſent at all this Pace of His Majeſty, but continu'd his Court and Treaty with all the Fairneſs that cou'd be.

TOWARDS the End of *February*, the King of *France* marching in the Head of his Army, and carrying the Queen and Ladies to *Mentz*, ſeem'd to threaten *Luxembourg*, or *Namur*, or *Mons*: But having drawn the *Spaniſh* Forces that Way, on a ſudden croſſes the Country, ſits down before *Ghent*, and by the End of the Month takes both that Town and *Ypres*, and thereby gives a mighty Alarm to *Holland*, and ſtrengthens the Credit and Endeavours of thoſe he had already diſpos'd to his Terms of a Peace, as grown now abſolutely neceſſary; while *England* ſeem'd reſolv'd to go into the War, or at leaſt furniſh'd the Confederates with many ſuch Hopes. About the Firſt of *April*, *France* made a publick Declaration of the Terms upon which they were reſolv'd to make the Peace; which, though very different from thoſe agreed between His Majeſty and *Holland*, and more from the Pretenſions of the Allies; yet having, as to what concern'd *Spain* and *Holland*, been firſt privately agreed with ſome Leaders of the principal Towns, prov'd indeed the Plan of the Peace both for *Holland* and all the other Confederates engag'd in the War. And here the *French* began that imperious Way of treating, which they afterwards purſu'd in the whole Negotiation of the enſuing Peace; declaring ſuch and ſuch were the Conditions they wou'd admit, and no other, and upon which their Enemies might chuſe either Peace or War as they pleas'd; and to which *France* pretended not to be ty'd longer than to the Tenth of *May*, after which they wou'd be at Liberty to change or reſtrain them as they ſhou'd think fit.

ABOUT this Time, I happen'd to be with Lord Treaſurer one Evening in his Cloſet, when a Packet came to him from Mr. MOUNTAGUE Ambaſſador at *Paris*, giving him an Account of a large Conference Monſieur DE LOUVOIS had lately had with him, by the King His Maſter's Order; Wherein he repreſented the Meaſures they had already taken for a Peace in *Holland* upon the *French* Terms: That ſince they were agreed there, they hop'd His Majeſty wou'd not be againſt it: That however, *France* had order'd him to make His Majeſty the Offer of a great Sum of Money for his Conſent, tho' to a Thing already accepted by *Holland*, and wherein His Majeſty was conſequently not concern'd; That Monſieur DE LOUVOIS deſir'd the Ambaſſador to write this immediately to Lord Treaſurer, and to offer him a very conſiderable Sum for himſelf, that ſhou'd be ſent over in Money, Jewels, or by Bills, as he ſhou'd chuſe: And Mr. MOUNTAGUE added, That it was deſir'd this Affair ſhou'd be treated only between them Two, and not communicated to either of the Secretaries of State. My Lord Treaſurer read the Letter to me, and I ſaid, Well, my Lord, What do you ſay to the Offer? He anſwer'd, That he thought 'twas the ſame Thing as if it ſhou'd be made to the King to have *Windſor* put into the *French* Hands, and ſo he ſhou'd treat it; and that we had nothing to do but to go on with our Treaty with the Confederates. This his Lordſhip and I were charg'd with, and had brought near a Concluſion, when his Letters came from Mr. HIDE, with Repreſentations made him from the Penſioner at the *Hague*, of the Diſpoſitions in *Holland* running violently into a Peace, and the abſolute Neceſſity he thought there was of concluding it, upon the taking of *Ghent*, and Danger of *Antwerp*, which was then threaten'd, and the Loſs whereof wou'd be ſo fatal to the Trade of *Holland*, eſpecially *Amſterdam*. Hereupon Mr. GODOLPHIN was diſpatch'd immediately into *Holland*, to bring the laſt and ſureſt Account he cou'd get of the Reſolutions there upon this Affair, and return with the greateſt Speed he cou'd. He did ſo, and brought the ſame Account of all Diſpoſitions which Mr. HIDE had given; and in the Proceſs of our Treaty with the Confederates, Monſieur VAN BEUNINGHEN, when he came to the Point, was forc'd to confeſs, That he had no Powers to conclude, without firſt communicating to the States, which muſt draw into Length and Uncertainty.

ABOUT this Time the *French* Ambaſſador began to change his Language, who had ever before pretended, That His Majeſty ſhou'd be always Arbiter of the Peace: But now, aſſuring that his Maſter had agreed with *Holland*, he ſeem'd to wonder and expoſtulate why the King ſhou'd pretend to obtain better Terms for the *Spaniards*, than their Allies the *Dutch* were content with.

I was then preſs'd by the King and Lord Treaſurer to go into *Holland* to know their final Reſolutions, whether they wou'd yet go on with the War in Caſe His Majeſty ſhou'd go into it? But I excus'd my ſelf, knowing the *Dutch* were too much preſs'd by ſo near Approaches of *France*, to declare themſelves upon a Reſerve of the King's; and ſaid, If His Majeſty reſolv'd to go that Way, he muſt firſt take his Meaſures with the Parliament for the War, and then ſend them Word in *Holland* He was ready to delare it in Caſe they wou'd purſue it: And upon this Meſſage, I knew the *Dutch* ſo well as to believe they wou'd do it, and keep cloſe to their late Alliance with His Majeſty. This the King was unwilling to do, but poſted Mr. GODOLPHIN again into *Holland* about the Middle of *April*, to know their final Reſolutions; and prorogu'd the Parliament for Fourteen Days.

DURING theſe Negotiations, and ſince the Money given by the Parliament, and in Six Weeks Time, the King had raiſ'd an Army of about Twenty Thouſand Men, the compleateſt, and in all Appearance the braveſt Troops that cou'd be any-where ſeen; and might have raiſ'd many more, upon ſo great a Concurrence of the People's Humour with His Majeſty's ſeeming Deſign of entring into a War againſt *France*: And it was confeſt by all the foreign Miniſters, That no King in *Chriſtendom* cou'd have made and compleated ſuch a Levy as this appear'd, in ſuch a Time.

MY Lord Treaſurer, upon the Twentieth, came to me, and aſſur'd me of the King's Reſolution being at length fix'd to go into the War; and deſir'd me to prepare what the King was to ſay to the Parliament upon this Occaſion, which I did. When I carry'd it to my Lord Treaſurer, I met there Letters from Mr. HIDE and Mr. GODOLPHIN, that *Holland* abſolutely deſir'd the Peace, even upon the Terms propos'd by *France*; and had reſolv'd to ſend Monſieur VAN LEWEN over hither, to diſpoſe the King to be contented with them. He arriv'd, and the King ſent me immediately to him to know his Errand. He was the Chief of the Town of *Leyden*, and had join'd with

Amſterdam, *Haerlem*, *Delft*, and ſome others, in promoting the Peace, even upon the *French* Conditions: But being a Man of great Honour and Worth, and having done it upon the Suſpicion that *England* was ſtill at Bottom in with *France*, and that all the reſt was but Grimace; the Prince had procur'd him to be ſent over, on Purpoſe to ſatisfy himſelf (and thereby his Complices for the Peace) that the King's Intentions were determin'd to enter into the War, which His Highneſs thought the only Means to prevent the Peace.

WHEN I came to Monſieur VAN LEWEN, he told me freely, That it was the moſt againſt their Hearts in *Holland* that cou'd be, to make a Peace upon Terms ſo low and unſafe for *Flanders*; and that if the King had gone into the War, as was promis'd, upon *France* delaying or refuſing to accept his Scheme, they wou'd certainly have continu'd it: But His Majeſty's Proceedings look'd ever ſince ſo uncertain or unreſolv'd, that it had rais'd Jealouſies in *Holland* of our Meaſures being at Bottom fix'd and cloſe with *France*; which made moſt of the Towns in *Holland* think they had nothing elſe left to do, but to go in with them too as faſt as they cou'd, and the Approach of the *French* Army to *Antwerp* left them now no Time to deliberate: Yet he profeſs'd to me in private, That if the King wou'd immediately declare the War, he believ'd the States wou'd ſtill go on with it, in purſuit of their Alliance and the Terms therein contain'd.

I made this Report to the King, who ſeem'd poſitive to declare the War, in caſe the Parliament advis'd him, and promis'd to ſupport it; when an unlucky peeviſh Vote, mov'd by Sir *T.*—— *C.*—— in ſpight to my Lord Treaſurer, paſs'd the Houſe of Commons, *That no Money ſhou'd be given, till Satisfaction was receiv'd in Matters of Religion.* This left all ſo looſe and ſo lame, that the King was in a Rage, reproach'd me with my Popular Notions, as he term'd them; and ask'd me when, or how, I thought he cou'd truſt the Houſe of Commons to carry him thro' the War, if he ſhou'd engage in it? And I had not much indeed to ſay, conſidering the Temper and Factions of the Houſe; nor cou'd I well clear it to my ſelf, by my Obſervation, whether the King was firmly reſolv'd to enter into the War; or if he did, whether the Houſe of Commons wou'd have ſupported him in it, or turn'd it only to ruine the Miniſters by the King's Neceſſities. 'Tis certain, no Vote cou'd ever have paſs'd more unhappily, nor in ſuch a Counter-Seaſon, nor more croſs to the Humour of the Houſe, which ſeem'd generally bent upon engaging His Majeſty in the War; and the Perſon that mov'd it was, I believe, himſelf as much of that Mind as any of the reſt; but having ſince the Loſs of his Employment at Court, ever acted a Part of great Animoſity in Oppoſition to the preſent Miniſtry, in whoſe Hands ſoever it was, this private ill Humour carry'd him contrary to his publick Intentions, as it did many more in the Houſe, who pretended to be very willing to ſupply the King upon Occaſion of the War, or even of his Debts, but that they wou'd not do it during my Lord Treaſurer's Miniſtry. In ſhort, there was ſuch a fatal and mutual Diſtruſt both in the Court and Parliament, as it was very hard to fall into any ſound Meaſures between them. The King, at leaſt, now ſaw he had loſt his Time of entering into the War, if he had a Mind to it; and that he ought to have done it (upon my Lord DURAS's Return, and) with the whole Confederacy. And my Lord ESSEX told me, I had been a Prophet, in refuſing to go into *Holland* to make that Alliance, which had, as I ſaid, pleas'd none at home or abroad, and had now loſt all our Meaſures in *Holland*, and turn'd theirs upon *France*.

BUT the Turn that the King gave all this, was, That ſince the *Dutch* wou'd have a Peace upon the *French* Terms, and *France* offer'd Money for his Conſent to what he cou'd not help, he did not know why he ſhou'd not get the Money; and thereupon order'd me to treat upon it with the *French* Ambaſſador, who had Orders to that Purpoſe. I wou'd have excus'd my ſelf; but he ſaid, I cou'd not help ſeeing him, for he wou'd be with me at my Houſe by Seven next Morning: He accordingly came, and I told him very truly, I had been ill in the Night, and cou'd not enter into Buſineſs. The Ambaſſador was much diſappointed, and preſs'd me all he cou'd, but I defended my ſelf upon my Illneſs, till at length he left me without entering upon any thing. When I got up, I went immediately to *Sheen*, writ to my Lord Treaſurer by my Wife, *May* the Tenth 1678, how much I was unſatisfy'd with being put upon ſuch a Treaty with the *French* Ambaſſador, that belong'd not at all to my Poſt, and which they knew I thought diſhonourable to the King; and thereupon I offer'd to reſign to His Majeſty both my Ambaſſy at *Nimeguen*, and my Promiſe of Secretary of State's Place, to be diſpos'd of by His Majeſty as he pleas'd. My Lord Treaſurer ſent me Word, The King forc'd no Man upon what he had no Mind to; but if I reſolv'd this ſhou'd be ſaid to him, I muſt do it my ſelf, or by ſome other, for he wou'd not make my Court ſo ill as to ſay it for me; and ſo it reſted, and I continu'd at *Sheen*, without ſtirring till the King ſent for me.

IN the mean Time, from the Beginning of *May*, the ill Humour of the Houſe of Commons began to break out, by ſeveral Diſcourſes and Votes, againſt the Miniſters and their Conduct; which increas'd the ill Opinion His Majeſty had conceiv'd of their Intentions in preſſing him to enter upon a War: Yet, notwithſtanding all this, he had (as I was told by a good Hand) conceiv'd ſuch an Indignation at one Article of the private Treaty propos'd by Monſieur BARILLON, that he ſaid he wou'd never forget it while he liv'd; and tho' he ſaid nothing to me of his Reſentment, yet he ſeem'd at this Time more reſolv'd to enter into the War, than I had ever before ſeen or thought him.

MONSIEUR DE RUVIGNY the Son, was diſpatch'd into *France*, to know the laſt intentions of that Court upon the Terms of the Peace propoſed by His Majeſty, but brought no Anſwer clear or poſitive; ſo as His Majeſty went on to compleat his Levies, and to prepare for the War; but *May* the eleventh, the Houſe of

Commons paſs'd another Negative upon the Debate of Money; which ſo offended the King, that he Prorogued them for ten days, believing in that time his Intentions to enter into the War, would appear ſo clear, as to ſatisfie the Houſe, and put them in better humour. Monſieur VAN LEWEN diſtaſted with theſe delays, and the Counterpaces between King and Parliament, begins to diſcourſe boldly of the neceſſity his Maſters found to make the Peace as they could, ſince there was no relying upon any meaſures with *England* for carrying on the War, and the Seaſon was too far advanc'd to admit any longer delays. Upon theſe Diſcourſes from him, His Majeſty began to cool his Talk of a War, and to ſay, The Peace muſt be left to the Courſe which *Holland* had given it: And tho' upon *May* the twenty third the Parliament met, and ſeem'd in much better temper than they parted, yet news coming about the ſame time that Monſieur VAN BEVERNING was ſent by the States to the *French* Court at *Ghent*, to propoſe a Ceſſation of Arms for ſix Weeks, in order to negotiate and agree the Terms of the Peace in that time, the Affair began now to be look'd upon, both in Court and Parliament, as a thing concluded, or at leaſt as like to receive no other motion than what ſhould be given it by *Holland* and *France*.

And indeed, the diſpoſitions were ſo inclin'd to it on both ſides, that the Terms were ſoon adjuſted between them. Theſe Articles having been ſo publick, I ſhall not trouble my ſelf to inſert them, but only ſay, they ſeem'd ſo hard, both to *Spain*, and to the *Northern* Princes who had made great Conqueſts upon the *Swedes*, that they all declared they would never accept them; and when the *French* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen* deſired Sir LIONEL JENKINS to carry them to the Confederates, he refus'd to do it, or to have part in a Treaty or Conditions of Peace, ſo different from what the King his Maſter had propoſed, and what both His Majeſty and *Holland* had oblig'd themſelves to purſue by their late Treaty at the *Hague*.

ABOUT this Time, *France*, by a Conduct very ſurprizing, having ſent Monſieur DE LA FEUILLADE to *Meſſina*, with a common Expectation of reinforcing the War in *Sicily*, ſhew'd the Intention was very different, and of a ſudden order'd all their Forces to abandon that Iſland, with whom many *Meſſineſes* return'd, fearing the Vengeance of the *Spaniards*, to whom they were now expos'd: And this was the only important Service done that Crown by all His Majeſty's Intentions or Preparations to aſſiſt them; for no Man doubted, that the abandoning of *Sicily* was wholly ly owing to the Apprehenſions in *France* of a War with *England*, which they thought wou'd give them but too much Occaſion for imploying of their Forces. And indeed the Eyes and Hopes of all the Confederates were now turn'd ſo wholly upon *England* for any Reſource in their Affairs, after *Holland* had deſerted them (as they thought) by ſuch precipitate Terms of a Peace, that many of the chief Miniſters at *Nimeguen* left that place, as of no more uſe to the Treaty it was deſign'd for, and went into *England*, where they thought the whole ſcene of that Affair then lay; among whom was Count ANTOINE the *Daniſh* Ambaſſador, and ſoon after, Monſieur OLIVECRANS the *Swediſh*, with the Elector of BRANDENBURG's Envoy, and ſeveral others.

HOWEVER, the Negotiation continued there, between the *French* Ambaſſadors and Monſieur VAN BEVERNING, till he was ſent to the *French* Camp; where he concluded the Terms of the Peace towards the End of *June*, and a Ceſſation from all Hoſtilities in *Flanders* for ſix Weeks, which was given to the *Dutch*, to endeavour the *Spaniards* entring into the Peace upon the Terms they had propoſed for them. And in the whole Courſe of this Negotiation, *France* ſeem'd to have no Regards, but for *Holland*; and for them ſo much, that the moſt Chriſtian King aſſur'd the States, That tho' *Spain* ſhould not agree, yet he had ſuch care of their ſatisfaction, that he would always provide ſuch a Barriere in *Flanders* ſhould be left, as they thought neceſſary for their ſafety; and that after the Peace ſhould be made, and the antient Amity reſtor'd, he would be ready to enter into ſuch Engagements and Meaſures with them, as ſhould for ever ſecure their Repoſe and their Liberty.

THIS was by all interpreted an invidious Word, put in on purpoſe to cajole the Enemies of the Prince, who ever pretended the ſuſpicions of his affecting more Authority than they deſir'd; and thereby kept up a Popular Party in the State, the chief of whom had been the chief promoters of the preſent Peace. And indeed the Prince was not at all reſerv'd in the Endeavours of oppoſing it, but uſed all that was poſſible and agreeable to the Forms of the State; yet all in vain, the humour having ſpread ſo far, at firſt in *Holland*, and from thence into the other Provinces, that it was no longer to be oppoſed or diverted by the Prince.

IN the mean Time, *England* was grown pretty indifferent in the matter of the Peace, and *Spain* ſeem'd well inclin'd to accept their part of it: But the Emperor, the King of DENMARK, and Elector of

BRANDENBURG, fell into the higheſt Declarations and Reproaches againſt the States, that could be well invented; ripping up all they had ventur'd and ſuffer'd in a War they had begun only for the preſervation of *Holland*; how they were now abandon'd by them, in pretending to conclude Imperious and Arbitrary Terms of a Peace upon them without their Conſent: That they were willing to treat with *France*, and make a Peace upon any ſafe and reaſonable Conditions; but would never endure to have them impos'd as from a Conqueror; and would venture all, rather then accept them, eſpecially thoſe for the Duke of LORRAIN, whoſe caſe was the worſt treated, tho' the moſt favour'd in appearance, by all the Confederates, and the leaſt conteſted by *France*.

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe ſtorms from their Allies, the *Dutch* were little mov'd, and held on their courſe, having ſmall regard to the ſatisfaction of any, beſides *Spain* in what concern'd the Safety of *Flanders*; and the neceſſities of that Crown made them eaſie, tho' as little contented as the reſt: So as the Peace was upon the point of ſigning by the *French* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors; when an unexpected Incident fell in, which had like to have overturn'd this whole Fabrick, and to have renew'd the War with greater

Heats, and more equal Forces, by engaging *England* to a ſhare of it in favour of the Confederates, which they had been long practiſing without Succeſs, and now without Hopes.

IN the Conditions which *Holland* had made for the *French* reſtoring the ſix Towns in *Flanders* to *Spain*, there was no particular mention made of the Time of that Reſtitution; the *Dutch* underſtanding, as well as the *Spaniards*, That it was to be upon the Ratifications of the Peace with *Spain* and *Holland*, whether any of the other Allies on each ſide were included or not. But when the *Dutch* Treaty was near ſigning, the Marqueſs DE BALBACES either found or made ſome occaſion of enquiring more particularly of the *French* Intentions upon this Point. The *French* Ambaſſadors made no difficulty of declaring, That the King, their Maſter, being obliged to ſee an entire Reſtitution made to the *Swedes* of all they had loſt in the War, could not evacuate the Towns in *Flanders*, till thoſe to the *Swedes* were likewiſe reſtor'd; and that this detention of places, was the only means to induce the Princes of the *North* to accept of the Peace.

MONSIEUR VAN BEVERNING gave Account to his Maſters of this new pretence; and the States order'd him to let the *French* Ambaſſadors know, he could not ſign the Peace without the reſtitution of the Places in *Flanders* upon the Ratification of the Treaty. The *French* Ambaſſadors were firm on t'other ſide, and ſaid, Their Orders were poſitive to inſiſt upon the reſtitution of *Sweden*. The States hereupon ſent to Monſieur VAN LEWEN to acquaint His Majeſty with this unexpected Incident, and to know his Opinion and Reſolution upon a point of ſo great moment to the Peace of *Chriſtendom* on the one ſide, and to the Safety of *Flanders* on the other, The King was difficult at firſt to believe it; but ſending to the *French* Ambaſſador at *London* to know the Truth of it, and finding him own his Maſter's intention not to evacuate the Towns till the General Peace was concluded, and *Sweden* ſatisfied, He was both ſurpriz'd and angry at this proceeding of *France*; and next Morning ſent for me to the Foreign Committee, and there declar'd his reſolution of ſending me immediately into *Holland* with Commiſſion to ſign a Treaty with the States, by which they ſhould be obliged to carry on the War, and His Majeſty to enter into it, in caſe *France* ſhould not conſent, within a certain time limited, to evacuate the Towns. The Duke fell into this Counſel with great warmth, and ſaid at the Committee, That it was plain by this pace, that *France* was not ſincere in the Buſineſs of the Peace; That they aim'd at the Univerſal Monarchy; and that none but His Majeſty could hinder them from it, in the poſture that *Chriſtendom* ſtood. All the Lords of the Committee agreed, with ſo general a concurrence, that it was hard to imagine this ſhould not prove a ſteddy Reſolution, how little ſoever we had been given to any ſuch. His Majeſty took the pains to preſs VAN LEWEN to go over with me; to perſuade the States of the ſincerity and conſtancy of his reſolution to purſue this Meaſure with the utmoſt of his Power; and took upon himſelf to excuſe to the States his Maſters, the making this Journey without Their conſent.

UPON this Diſpatch, Mr. GODOLPHIN, who had been ſo lately in *Holland*, told me, That if I brought the States to the Treaty His Majeſty propos'd upon this occaſion, he would move the Parliament to have my Statue ſet up; the Succeſs whereof may deſerve a further Remark in its due place.

MONSIEUR VAN LEWEN and I went over in *July* 1678, in two ſeveral Yachts; but met ſoon at the *Hague*, where, upon my firſt Conference with the Commiſſioners of Secret Affairs, one of them made me the handſomeſt *Dutch* Compliment I had met with, *That they eſteem'd my*

[illegible] *coming*

coming into Holland, *like that of the Swallow, which brought fair Weather always with it.*

THE Prince receiv'd me with the greateſt joy in the World; hoping by my Errand, and the Succeſs of it, either to continue the War, or recover ſuch Conditions of Peace for his Allies, as had been wreſted out of his hands by force of a Faction begun at *Amſterdam*, and ſpread ſince into the reſt of the Provinces.

TO make way for this Negotiation, I concerted with Monſieur VAN LEWEN to dine at his Country-houſe, with Monſieur HOEFT of *Amſterdam*, VAN TIELT of *Haerlem*, PATZ of *Rotterdam*, and two or three more of the Chief Burgomaſters who had promoted the Peace, or rather precipitated it, upon the *French* Conditions. After Dinner, we enter'd into long Conferences, in which Monſieur VAN LEWEN aſſur'd them with great confidence of the King's ſincerity in the reſolutions he had taken, and ſeconded very effectually all I had to ſay upon that Subject; which had the more credit from one who had gone as far as any of them in purſuit and acceptance of the Peace.

THE Prince was impatient to know what had paſs'd in this Meeting, which made me go to him that evening; and I told him, what I was very confident to have found, That Monſieur PATZ was incurable, and not otherwiſe to be dealt with; but that all the reſt were good and well-meaning perſons to their Country, abuſed firſt by Jealouſies of His Highneſs's Match in *England*, by apprehenſions of Our Court being wholly in the Meaſures of *France*, and by the plauſible Offers of *France* towards ſuch a Peace as they could deſire for themſelves. That they were ſomething enlightned by the late refuſal of delivering up the *Spaniſh* Towns till the ſatisfaction of *Sweden*; and would, I doubted not, awaken their ſeveral Towns, ſo as to make them receive favourably His Majeſty's Propoſition upon this Conjuncture. It happen'd accordingly; for Monſieur HOEFT propoſing at *Amſterdam* to make a tryal and jndgment of the ſincerity of *France* upon the whole proceeding of the Peace, by their evacuating the *Spaniſh* Towns, and without it to continue the War, he carried his Point there, in ſpight of VALKENIER; and the ſame follow'd in all the reſt of the Towns: So that when I fell into this Negotiation, I concluded the Treaty in ſix days; by which *France* was oblig'd to declare within fourteen after the date thereof, That they would evacuate the *Spaniſh* Towns; or, in caſe of their refuſal, *Holland* was engag'd to go on with the War, and *England* immediately to declare it againſt *France*, in conjunction with *Holland* and the reſt of the Confederates.

IT is hardly to be imagin'd what a new life this gave to the Authority and Fortunes of the Prince of ORANGE, who was now own'd by the States to have made a truer judgment than they had done, of the meaſures they were to expect both from *France* and *England*; the laſt having proceeded ſo reſolutely to the offers of entring into the War (which was never believ'd in *Holland*), and *France*, after raiſing ſo important a difficulty in the Peace, having proceeded in the War ſo far as to block up *Mons*, one of the beſt Frontiers remaining to *Flanders*; which was expected to fall into their hands, before the Term fix'd for the concluſion or rupture of the Peace ſhould expire.

PREPARATIONS were made with the greateſt vigour imaginable for his Highneſs's Expedition to relieve *Mons*; and about Ten thouſand *Engliſh* already arriv'd in *Flanders*, were order'd to march that way and joyn the Prince. He went into the Field, with a firm belief that the War would certainly go on, ſince *France* ſeem'd too far engag'd in Honour to yield the Evacuation of the Towns; and tho' they ſhould, yet *Spain* could not be ready to Agree and Sign the Peace within the Term limited: And he thought that he left the States reſolv'd not to conclude otherwiſe than in conjunction with that Crown. And beſides, he hop'd to engage the *French* Army before the Term for Signing the Peace ſhould expire; and reſolv'd to relieve *Mons*, or dye in the attempt, whether the Peace ſucceeded or not; ſo as the continuance of the War ſeem'd inevitable. But no Man, ſince *Solomon*, ever enough conſider'd how ſubject all things are to Time and Chance, nor how poor Diviners the wiſeſt Men are of future Events, how plainly ſoever all things may ſeem laid towards the producing them; nor upon how ſmall accidents the greateſt Counſels and Revolutions turn; which was never more prov'd than by the courſe and event of this Affair.

AFTER the Treaty concluded and ſignified to *France*, all the Arts that could be, were on that ſide imploy'd to elude it, by drawing this matter into Treaty, or into greater length, which had ſucceeded ſo well in *England*. They offer'd to treat upon it at St. *Quentin*, then at *Ghent*, where the King Himſelf would meet ſuch Ambaſſadors as the *Dutch* ſhould ſend to either of thoſe Towns. But the States were firm not to recede from their late Treaty concluded with His Majeſty, and ſo continued till about Five days before the Term was to expire. Then arriv'd from *England* one DE CROS, formerly a *French* Monk, who ſome time ſince had left his Frock for a Petticoat, and inſinuated himſelf ſo far in the *Swediſh* Court, as to procure a Commiſſion (or Credence at leaſt)

leaſt) for a certain petty Agency in *England*. At *London* he had devoted himſelf wholly to Monſieur BARILLON the *French* Ambaſſador; tho' pretending to purſue the Intereſts of *Sweden*. About a Week after I had ſent a Secretary into *England* with the Treaty Sign'd, This Man brought me a Packet from Court, Commanding me to go immediately away to *Nimeguen*; and there to endeavour all I could (and from His Majeſty) to perſwade the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors to let the *French* there know, That they would, for the good of *Chriſtendom*, conſent, and even deſire the King of *France*, no longer to defer the Evacuation of the Towns, and conſequently the Peace, upon the ſole regard and intereſt of the Crown of *Sweden*. I was likewiſe Commanded to aſſure the ſaid Ambaſſadors, that after this Peace His Majeſty would uſe all the moſt effectual Endeavours he could, for reſtitution of the Towns and Countries the *Swedes* had loſt in the War.

IT was not eaſie for any Man to be more ſurpriz'd than I was by this Diſpatch; but the Penſioner FAGEL was ſtunn'd, who came and told me the whole Contents of it, before I had mention'd it to any Man; and that DE CROS had gone about moſt induſtriouſly to the Deputies of the ſeveral Towns, and acquainted them with it; and that the Terms of the Peace were abſolutely conſented, and agreed between the Two Kings; that he had brought me Orders to go ſtreight to *Nimeguen*; and that I ſhou'd, at my Arrival there, meet with Letters from my Lord SUNDERLAND, the King's Ambaſſador at *Paris*, with all the Particulars concluded between them.

HOW this Diſpatch by DE CROS was gain'd, or by whom, I will not pretend to determine. But upon my next Return for *England*, the Duke told me, That he knew nothing of it till it was gone, having been a hunting that Morning: My Lord Treaſurer ſaid all that cou'd be to excuſe himſelf of it; and I never talk'd of it to Secretary WILLIAMSON; but the King indeed told me pleaſantly, *That the Rogue* DE CROS *had outwitted them all*. The Account I met with at Court was, That theſe Orders were agreed and diſpatch'd one Morning in an Hour's Time, and in the Dutcheſs of PORTSMOUTH's Chamber, by the Intervention and Purſuit of Monſieur BARILLON. However it was, and what Endeavours ſoever were made immediately after, at our Court, to retrieve this Game, it never cou'd be done; and this one Incident chang'd the whole Fate of *Chriſtendom*; and with ſo little ſeeming Ground for any ſuch Counſel, that before DE CROS's Arrival at the

Hague, the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen* had made the very ſame Declaration and Inſtances to the *French* Ambaſſadors there, that I was poſted away from the *Hague* upon the pretence of perſuading them to reſolve on.

WHEN I arriv'd at *Nimeguen*, there remain'd but three Days of the Term fix'd by the late Treaty between His Majeſty and the States, at the *Hague*, either for the *French* aſſent to the evacuation of the Towns, or for the carrying on of the War in conjunction of *England* with *Holland*, and conſequently the reſt of the Confederates. I found all Men there perſuaded, that the Peace would not ſucceed; and indeed all appearances were againſt it. The *French* Ambaſſadors had given many Reaſons, in a formal ſort of Manifeſto, to the *Dutch*, why the King, their Maſter, could not conſent to it, without the previous ſatisfaction of *Sweden*, whoſe Intereſts he eſteem'd the ſame with his own; but yet declaring he was willing to receive any Expedients the States ſhould offer in this matter, either by their Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, or ſuch as they ſhould ſend to His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty at St. *Quentin*, or *Ghent*. The *Dutch* gave them an Anſwer in Writing, declaring, It was a matter no longer entire, ſince upon the difficulty rais'd about the Evacuation of the Towns, the States, their

Maſters, had been induc'd to ſign a Treaty with *England*; from which they cou'd not recede, nor from the Day therein fix'd for determining the Fate of either Peace or War; and as there was no Time, ſo there cou'd be no Uſe of any Deputation to *St. Quentin* or *Ghent*, nor any other Expedient, beſides the Aſſent of *France* to evacuate the Towns. After this, the *French* Ambaſſador had declar'd to the *Dutch*, That they had found the King their Maſter was reſolv'd, at the Deſire of the *Swedes*, to retard the Peace no longer upon their Conſideration; and wou'd conſent to evacuate the Towns, upon Condition the States wou'd ſend their Deputies to treat upon the Ways of ſecuring the future Satisfaction to *Sweden*, which was by both intended. But the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors continu'd peremptory, that there cou'd be no Deputation made by their Maſters; and that if the Term fix'd by the late Treaty with *England* ſhou'd elapſe, there was no Remedy, but the War muſt go on. To this the *French* Ambaſſadors replying, that their Hands were bound up from proceeding further without ſuch a Deputation, the Peace was thereupon eſteem'd deſperate; and the more ſo, becauſe, at the ſame Time, the Duke of LUXEMBURG preſs'd *Mons*, and the Marſhal DE SCHOMBERG ſeem'd to threaten

Cologne, demanding of them immediate Satiſfaction of the Money that had been ſeiz'd during the Aſſembly there; and *Bruſſels* it ſelf grew unquiet upon their finding themſelves almoſt ſurrounded by *French* Troops: So as the Confederate Miniſters thought themſelves ſecure of what they had ſo much and ſo long deſir'd and aim'd at, which was a long War in Conjunction with *England*: For they neither believ'd *France* wou'd yield a Point they had ſo long and ſo publickly conteſted; nor (if they did) that the *Dutch* wou'd ſuffer their Ambaſſadors to ſign the Peace without *Spain*; and the Time was now too near expiring for agreeing the Terms and Draught of a Treaty between the Two Crowns, which had not yet been in any Kind digeſted.

IN the Midſt of theſe Appearances and Diſpoſitions at *Nimeguen*, came the fatal Day, agreed by the late Treaty at the *Hague*, for determining whether a ſudden Peace, or a long War, were to be reckon'd upon in *Chriſtendom*; when, in the Morning early, Monſieur BOREEL, who had been ſent from *Amſterdam* to the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, went to the *French* Ambaſſadors, and after ſome Conference with them, theſe Three Ambaſſadors went immediately to thoſe of *Holland*, and declar'd to them, they had receiv'd Orders to conſent to the Evacuation of the Towns, and thereupon to ſign the Peace, but that it muſt be done that Very Morning. Whether the *Dutch* were ſurpriz'd or not, they ſeem'd to be ſo; and entring into Debate upon ſeveral of the Articles, as well as upon the Intereſts of *Spain*, this Conference laſted near Five Hours; but ended in Agreement upon all the Points, both of Peace and Commerce, between *France* and *Holland*, and Orders for writing all fair with the greateſt Haſte that was poſſible, ſo as the Treaty might be ſign'd that Night.

ABOUT Four in the Afternoon, the *French* Ambaſſadors, having demanded an Hour of me and Sir LIONEL, came to us at my Houſe, gave us an Account of their Agreement with the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors upon all Points in Difference between them, and of the Treaty's being ſo order'd, as that it ſhou'd be ſign'd that Evening; and made us the Offer that they wou'd all come and ſign it at my Houſe, that ſo we might have the Part in it that was due to the Mediators.

WE anſwer'd them, That having been ſent by His Majeſty with Inſtructions only to mediate a General Peace, we cou'd not by our Orders aſſiſt at the ſigning of a Particular One; and therefore deſir'd them to excuſe us from having any Part in this Concluſion between them and the

Dutch, either by the ſigning it at our Houſes, or by uſing our Names as Mediators in the Treaty.

THE *Dutch* Ambaſſadors came to us likewiſe with the ſame Communication and Offer, and receiv'd the ſame Anſwer; and I obſerv'd their Converſation upon this mighty and ſudden Turn to be a good deal embarraſs'd, and ſomething irreſolute, and not very well agreed between the Two Ambaſſadors themſelves. Monſieur VAN BEVERNING complain'd of the Uncertainty of our Conduct in *England*, and the incurable Jealouſies that DE CROS's Journey had rais'd in *Holland*: That ſince the King ſtill deſir'd the Peace, his Maſters had nothing to do but to conclude it; And that they, the Ambaſſadors, took themſelves to be ſo inſtructed, as that they muſt ſign the Peace upon the Offers made by the *French* to evacuate the Towns. Monſieur VAN HAREN did not ſeem to me ſo clear in Point of their Orders; and I never cou'd learn whether upon DE CROS's Arrival and Diſcourſes at the *Hague*, the States Deputies there had ſent Orders to their Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen* to ſign the Peace (even without the *Spaniards*) in Caſe of the *French* aſſenting to the Evacuation of the Towns before the Day appointed for that Purpoſe ſhou'd expire; or whether only the Town of *Amſterdam* had by BOREEL ſent that

Advice to Monſieur VAN-BEVERNING, with Aſſurances to bear him out in what he did, where his Orders might receive a doubtful Senſe or Interpretation. However it were, Monſieur VAN BEVERNING was bent upon giving this ſudden End to the War; and ſuch a quick Diſpatch to the Draught of the Treaty, that it was agreed in all Articles, and written out fair, ſo as to be ſign'd between Eleven and Twelve at Night. And thus were eluded all the Effects of the late Treaty concluded at the *Hague*, and the Hopes conceiv'd by the Confederates of the War's going on; which ſo provok'd ſeveral of their Miniſters, as to engage them in ſharp and violent Proteſtations againſt the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, by which they hop'd to deter them from ſigning the Peace without new Orders from their Maſters. But all was to no Purpoſe, VAN BEVERNING was unmov'd, and the Thing was done.

THE Day after the Peace was ſign'd, came an Expreſs to me from Court, with the Ratifications of the late Treaty between His Majeſty and the States, and Orders to me immediately to proceed to the Exchange of them: Which was ſuch a Counterpace to the Diſpatch I had receiv'd by DE CROS, and to the Conſequences of it, which had ended in the Concluſion of the Peace, and thereby render'd the late Treaty of no further uſe, that the Ratification ſeem'd now as unneceſſary, as it had been at firſt unreſolv'd at our Court, and unexpected from us by the *Dutch*. However, I went away immediately upon this Expreſs; and next Day after my Arrival at the *Hague*, made an Exchange of the Ratifications according to the Orders I had receiv'd.

I found the Penſioner and ſeveral other of the Deputies very much unſatisfy'd with the Peace, and more with the Precipitation of Monſieur VAN BEVERNING to ſign it upon the ſudden Offer of the *French* Ambaſſadors to evacuate the Towns, and before he had acquainted the *States* with it, and receiv'd new Orders upon it. They ſaid his Inſtructions cou'd not warrant him; they talk'd of calling him in Queſtion for it, and of diſavowing what he had done, and thereupon of having Recourſe to the Treaty with His Majeſty (which they now ſaw ratify'd), and of continuing the War in Conjunction with *England*; and the rather becauſe they ſaw *France* had no Mind to venture it, but had choſen to ſtoop from thoſe high Flights they had ſo long made in all Tranſactions with their Neighbours, either of War or Peace. But others of the Deputies, eſpecially thoſe of *Amſterdam*, declar'd their Satiſfaction in this Concluſion at *Nimeguen*; argu'd, That the Weakneſs of their Confederates, eſpecially *Spain*, and the Unſteddineſs or Irreſolution of *England*, had made the Peace of abſolute Neceſſity to *Holland*; and excus'd any Precipitation of their Ambaſſadors in ſigning that Day; or without clear and poſitive Orders, upon the Emergency, being ſo ſudden and ſurprizing, and the Time ſo critical, that the Delay of ſending to the *Hague* muſt of Neceſſity have engag'd the States in their Obligations of the late Treaty with *England*, and thereby in a Neceſſity of continuing the War.

THE Truth is, I never obſerv'd, either in what I had ſeen or read, any Negotiation manag'd with greater Addreſs and Skill, than this had been by the *French* in the whole Courſe of the Affair; eſpecially ſince the Prince of ORANGE's Match, which was thought to have given them ſo great a Blow, and by Force of Conduct was turn'd ſo much to their Advantage. 'Tis certain and plain, they never intended to continue the War, if *England* ſhou'd fall with ſuch Weight into the Scale of the Confederates, as the Force of that Kingdom and Humour of the People wou'd have given to ſuch a Conjunction; and conſequently, that His Majeſty might have preſcrib'd what Terms he pleas'd of the Peace, during the whole Courſe of his Mediation: For beſides the Reſpect which the *French* have for our Troops both Horſe and Foot, more than any others, eſpecially ſince the Services and Advantages they receiv'd from them in all their Actions againſt the *Germans*; beſides the Terrour of a Conjunction between our Naval Forces and the *Dutch*, and of Deſcents upon their Coaſts, with the dangerous Influences That might make upon the Diſcontents of their People; they wiſely foreſaw another Conſequence of our falling into this Confederacy, which muſt unavoidably have prov'd more mortal to them than all the reſt, in Two Years Time. For whereas the Wealth of *France*, which makes their Greatneſs, ariſes from the infinite Conſumption made by ſo many neighbouring Countries, of ſo many and rich Commodities as the native Soil and Climate, or Ingenuity of the People, produce in *France*; in caſe this War had gone on, with *England* engag'd in it, all theſe Veins of ſuch infinite Treaſure had been ſtop'd at once, or at leaſt left open only to ſome Parts of *Italy*, which neither takes off their Wines, their Salts, nor their Modes in Habit or Equipage, that draw ſo vaſt Expences upon all the Provinces almoſt of *Europe* which lie Northward of *France*, and drain ſuch vaſt Sums of Money from all their Neighbours, into that fruitful and noble Kingdom, more favour'd by Nature, in my Opinion, than any other in the World: But the Loſs of this Advantage, upon the Neceſſity, Folly or Luxury of others, muſt, in Two or Three Years Time, reduce them to ſuch Weakneſs in thoſe Sinews of War, by ſo general a Poverty and Miſery among their People, that there wou'd need no other Effect of ſuch a general Confederacy, to conſume the Strength and Force of that Nation. This they very prudently foreſaw, and never intended to venture; but having Reaſon to apprehend it from the Prince of ORANGE's Match in *England*, they took it without Reſentment; nay, improv'd it rather into new Kindneſs than Quarrel, making Uſe of the King's good Nature to engage him in a Prorogation of the Parliament immediately after; which made it appear, both at home and abroad, that they had ſtill the Aſcendant upon our Court. They eluded the Effect of the Meſſage ſent them by my Lord DURAS, with His Majeſty's Scheme of the Peace; by drawing it out into Expoſtulations of Kindneſs, and ſo into Treaty. During this Amuſement of our Court, they ply'd their Buſineſs in *Holland*; yet, with greater Art and Induſtry, poyſon'd the People there with Jealouſies of the Prince's Match in *England*, and of Deſigns from both upon their Liberties, by a long and unneceſſary Continuance of the War. They united the Factions in *Amſterdam* upon the Scent of a Peace, and upon their own Conditions, to avoid thoſe that had been propos'd by His Majeſty. When they had gain'd their Point with the ſeveral

Deputies in *Holland*, they acquainted the King with their being ſure of the Peace on that Side; and by his Ambaſſador at *Paris*, made Offers of mighty Sums both to himſelf and his chief Miniſter, only for their Conſent to ſuch a Peace as *Holland* it ſelf was content with. When the States had abſolutely reſolv'd on the Peace, by the particular Faction of *Amſterdam*, and general Terror upon the *French* taking of *Ghent* and threatning *Antwerp*, they eſteem'd the Humour in *Holland* ſo violent towards the Peace, and ſo unſatisfy'd with the Fluctuation of our Counſels in *England*, that they thought they might be bold with them upon the Intereſts of *Spain*, and ſo rais'd the Pretence of not evacuating the Towns before the Satisfaction of *Sweden*. And tho' I know this was by the Politicians eſteem'd a wrong Pace of *France*; yet I did not think it ſo, but that all Appearances were for their ſucceeding in it. Nor had they Reaſon to believe either our Court or *Holland* wou'd have reſented it to that Degree they did; or that they cou'd have fallen into ſuch cloſe and ſudden Meaſures, and with ſuch Confidence, as they happen'd to do upon this Occaſion by the Treaty of *July* at the *Hague*. When this was concluded, they made all the Offers that cou'd be at breaking the Force of it; by drawing it into Negotiation, and by Condeſcentions to the States unuſual with that Crown even to the greateſt Kings. They poiſon'd it by the Diſpatch of DE CROS, and by his Inſtructions, as well as Artifices and Induſtry, to make the Contents of it publick at the *Hague*, which were pretended at Court to be ſent over to me with the greateſt Secret that cou'd be. At the ſame Time they made all the Declarations of not receding from the Difficulties they had rais'd, otherwiſe than by Treaty; and thereby laid aſleep all Jealouſies of the Confederates, as well as Endeavours to prevent a Blow they did not believe cou'd arrive where the Honour of *France* ſeem'd ſo far engag'd: And thus they continu'd till the very Day limited for their final Declaration. The Secret was ſo well kept, that none had the leaſt Umbrage of it that very Morning. When they declar'd it, they left not the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors Time enough to ſend to their Maſters; fearing, if they had, the States wou'd have refus'd to ſign without *Spain*, which cou'd not be ready before the Time muſt have elaps'd for incurring the Effects of the late Treaty.

THUS the Peace was gain'd with *Holland*. His Majeſty was excluded from any fair Pretence of entering into the War, after the vaſt Expence of raiſing a great Army, and tranſporting them into *Flanders*, and after a great Expectation of his People rais'd, and, as they thought, deluded. *Spain* was neceſſitated to accept the Terms that the

Dutch had negotiated for them; and this left the Peace of the Empire wholly at the Mercy and Diſcretion of *France*, and the Reſtitution of *Lorrain* (which all had conſented in) wholly abandon'd and unprovided. So that I muſt again conclude the Conduct of *France* to have been admirable in the whole Courſe of this Affair, and the *Italian* Proverb to continue true, *Che gli Pazzi Franceſi ſono morti* [*The* French *Fools are dead*]. On the contrary, our Counſels and Conduct were like thoſe of a floating Iſland, driven one Way or t'other according to the Winds or Tides. The King's Diſpoſitions inclin'd him to preſerve his Meaſures with *France*, and conſequently to promote a Peace which might break the preſent Confederacy: The Humour of his People and Parliament was violent towards engaging him in a War: The Miniſters were wavering between the Fears of making their Court ill, or of drawing upon them the Heats of a Houſe of Commons, whom the King's Expences made him always in need of. From theſe Humours aroſe thoſe Uncertainties in our Counſels, that no Man who was not behind the Curtain cou'd tell what to make of, and which appear'd to others much more myſterious than indeed they were; till a new and formidable Engine beginning to appear upon the Stage, made the Court fall into an abſolute Reſolution of entring into the War juſt when it was too late; and to poſt away the Ratifications of the Treaty of *July*, ſo as to arrive the Day after the *French* and *Dutch* had ſign'd the Peace, and after the King had given the States occaſion to believe he did not intend to ratifie it, but that he had taken his Meaſures with *France*; for ſo all Men in *Holland* concluded from DE CROS's Journey, and the Commands he brought me for mine to *Nimeguen*, at a time when my preſence at the *Hague* was thought the moſt neceſſary, both to ratifie the Treaty, if it had been intended, and to keep the States firm to their reſolutions upon it.

THUS ended in ſmoke this whole Negotiation, which was near raiſing ſo great a fire. *France* having made the Peace with *Holland*, treated all the reſt of it with eaſe and leiſure, as playing a ſure Game. *England*, to avoid a cruel Convulſion that threatned them at home, would fain have gone into the War, if *Holland* would have been prevail'd with; but they could not truſt us enough, to loſe the preſent Intereſt of Trade, for the uncertain Events of a War wherein they thought their Neighbours more concern'd than Themſelves.

ABOUT two or three days after my return to the *Hague*, and exchanging the Ratifications, came the News of the Battle of *Mons*, between the Prince of ORANGE, and the *French* under the Command of the

Duke of LUXEMBURG, who had poſted himſelf with the Strength and Flower of the *French* Forces, ſo as to prevent the Prince's Deſign of Relieving *Mons*. And I remember, the Day the *Dutch* Peace was ſign'd at *Nimeguen*, I was ſaying to the Mareſchal D'ESTRADES, That for ought I knew, we might have a Peace ſign'd and a Battel fought, both in one Day. He reply'd, There was no fear of it; for the Duke of LUXEMBURG had writ him word, He was ſo poſted, that if he had but Ten Thouſand Men, and the Prince Forty, yet he was ſure he would not be *forc'd*; whereas he took His Army to be ſtronger than that of the Prince. I need not relate an Action ſo well known in the World, and ſo ſhall only ſay, That in ſpight of many Diſadvantages from an Army drawn ſo ſuddenly together, ſo haſty a March as that of the *Dutch*, and Poſts taken with ſo much skill, and fortifi'd with ſo much induſtry by the *French*, as was believ'd, the Prince upon the fourteenth of *Auguſt* attack'd them with a reſolution and vigour that at firſt ſurpriz'd them, and after an obſtinate and bloody Fight, ſo diſorder'd them, that tho' the Night prevented the end of the Action, yet it was generally concluded, That if he had been at liberty next day to purſue it with ſeven or eight thouſand *Engliſh* that were ready to joyn his Army, he muſt in all appearance not only have reliev'd *Mons*, but made ſuch an impreſſion into *France* as had been often deſign'd, but never attempted ſince the War began; and upon which a *French* Officer preſent in it ſaid, *That he eſteem'd This the only Heroick Action that had been done in the whole courſe or progreſs of it.*

BUT the Morning after the Battel, the Prince receiv'd from the States Advice of the Peace having been ſign'd at *Nimeguen*, and thereupon immediately ſent a Deputy with the News of it to Monſieur DE LUXEMBURG. After Compliments paſs'd on both ſides, that Duke deſir'd to ſee the Prince; which was agreed to, and they met in the Field at the Head of their Chief Officers; where all paſs'd with the Civilities that became the occaſion, and with great curioſity of the *French* to ſee and crowd about a Young Prince who had made ſo much noiſe in the World, and had the day before given life and vigour to ſuch a deſperate Action, as all men eſteem'd this Battel of St. *Denis*. Yet many Reflections were made upon it by the Prince's Friends as well as his Enemies: Some ſaid, That he knew the Peace was ſign'd before the Fight began; and that it was too great a venture both to Himſelf and the States, and too great a Sacrifice to his own Honour, ſince it could be to no other Advantage: Others laid it to the Marqueſs DE GRANA, who they ſaid had intercepted and conceal'd the States Pacquet to the Prince, which came into the Camp the day before the Battel, (but after it was reſolv'd on), and that he had hopes by ſuch a breach of the Peace, even after it was ſign'd, that the progreſs of it would have been defeated. Whether this were true or not, I could never certainly be inform'd; but ſo much is, That the Prince could not have ended the War with greater Glory; nor with greater Spight, to ſee ſuch a mighty Occaſion wreſted out of his hand, by the ſudden and unexpected ſigning of the Peace, which he had aſſur'd himſelf the States would not have conſented to without the *Spaniards*. Yet upon the certain News of it, he drew back his Army, return'd to the *Hague*, and left the States to purſue their own paces in order to finiſhing the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*; wherein the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen* employ'd themſelves with great zeal and diligence, and no longer as Parties or Confederates, but as Mediators; whil'ſt Sir LIONEL, who continu'd ſtill there in that Figure, declin'd the Function, as in a matter wherein he found our Court would not take any part, nor allow themſelves to have had any in the Peace between *France* and *Holland*.

SOON after the Prince's return, he went to *Dieren* to hunt in the *Veluwe*, like a Perſon that had little elſe left to do. And I having occaſion to go at the ſame time to

Amſterdam, he deſir'd me to remember him kindly to Monſieur Hooft the Chief Burgomaſter there, and tell him, That he deſir'd him to be no longer in his Intereſts, than he ſhould find His Highneſs in the true Intereſts of the State. I did ſo; and Monſieur Hooft very frankly and generouſly bid me tell the Prince, He would be juſt what his Highneſs deſir'd, and be ever firm to his Intereſts, while he was in Thoſe of his Country; but if ever his Highneſs departed from them, he would be the firſt Man to oppoſe him; till then he would neither Cenſure nor Diſtruſt his Conduct; for he knew very well, without mutual Truſt between the Prince and the States, this Country muſt be ruin'd. From this time to that of his Death, Monſieur Hooft continued in the ſame mind, and by his Example that great and jealous Town began to fall into much more Confidence, not only of the Prince, but of his whole Conduct in the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of the State.

FOR the time I ſtay'd at *Amſterdam*, I was every day in Converſation with Monſieur Hooft, who, beſides much Learning, Worth, Sincereneſs, and Credit in his Town, was a Man of a pleaſant natural Humour; which makes, in my Opinion, the moſt agreeable Converſation of all other Ingredients, and much more than any of thoſe ſqueez'd or forc'd Strains of Wit that are in ſome places ſo much in requeſt; tho' I think commonly the Men that affect them, are themſelves much fonder of them than any of the Company.

DINING one day at Monſieur HOEFT's, and having a great Cold, I obſerv'd every time I ſpit, a tight handſom Wench (that ſtood in the Room with a clean Cloth in her Hand) was preſently down to wipe it up, and rub the Board clean: Somebody at Table ſpeaking of my Cold, I ſaid, the moſt trouble it gave me was to ſee the poor Wench take ſo much pains about it: Monſieur HOEFT told me, 'Twas well I eſcap'd ſo; and that if his Wife had been at home, tho' I were an Ambaſſador, ſhe would have turn'd me out of doors for fouling her Houſe. And laughing at that humour, ſaid, There were two Rooms of his Houſe that he never durſt come into, and believ'd they were never open but twice a year, to make them clean. I ſaid, I found he was a good Patriot; and not only in the Intereſts of his Country, but in the Cuſtoms of his Town, where that of the Wives governing, was, I heard, a thing eſtabliſh'd. He replied, 'Twas true, and that all a Man could hope for there, was to have *une douce Patronne*. [*An eaſie Governeſs*], and that his Wife was ſo. Another of the Magiſtrates at Table, who was a graver Man, ſaid Monſieur HOEFT was pleaſant, but the thing was no more ſo in their Town, than in any other Places that he knew of. HOEFT replied very briskly, It was ſo, and could not be otherwiſe, for it had long been the cuſtom; and whoever offer'd to break it, would have banded againſt him, not only all the Women of the Town, but all thoſe Men too that were govern'd by their Wives, which would make too great a Party to be oppos'd. In the afternoon, upon a viſit, and occaſion of what had been ſaid at Monſieur HOEFT's, many Stories were told of the ſtrange and curious Cleanlineſs ſo general in that City; and ſome ſo extravagant, that my Siſter took them for jeſt; when the Secretary of *Amſterdam*, that was of the Company, deſiring her to look out of the Window, ſaid, Why, Madam, there is the Houſe where one of our Magiſtrates going to viſit the Miſtreſs of it, and knocking at the Door, a ſtrapping *North-Holland* Laſs came and open'd it; he ask'd, Whether her Miſtreſs was at home? ſhe ſaid, Yes; and with that he offer'd to go in: But the Wench marking his Shooes were not very clean, took him by both Arms, threw him upon her back, carry'd him croſs two Rooms, ſet him down at the bottom of the Stairs, pull'd off his Shooes, put him on a pair of Slippers that ſtood there, and all this without ſaying a word; but when ſhe had done, told him, He might go up to her Miſtreſs, who was in her Chamber.

I was very glad to have a little diverted with ſuch Pleaſantries as theſe the Thoughts of that buſie Scene, in which I was ſo deeply engag'd, that I will confeſs the very remembrance of it, and all the ſtrange ſurprizing Turns of it, begin to renew thoſe cruel Motions they had rais'd both in my head and heart, whilſt I had ſo great, and ſo ſenſible a part in them. But to return where I left the thread of theſe Affairs.

AFTER the Peace of *Holland* and *France*, the Miniſters of the Confederates, eſpecially thoſe of *Denmark* and *Brandenburg*, employ'd their laſt Efforts to prevent the *Spaniards* agreeing to their part of the Peace, as accepted for them by the *Dutch*. They exclaim'd at their breach of Honour and Intereſt: That what was left the *Spaniards* in *Flanders* by thoſe Terms, was indefenſible, and could ſerve but to exhauſt their Men and Treaſures to no purpoſe: That the Deſign of *France* was only to break this preſent Confederacy by theſe ſeparate Treaties, and ſo leave the *Spaniards* abandon'd by their Allies upon the next Invaſion; which they would have reaſon to expect, if *Spain* ſhould uſe them with as little regard of their Honour and Treaties, as the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors ſeem'd to deſign. Theſe themſelves alſo met with ſome difficulties in their Mediation, by a Pretenſion rais'd in France upon the County of Beaumont and Town of Bovignes, which they did not find to have been mention'd in what had paſs'd between the French and Dutch, upon the Score of Spain, before the Peace was ſign'd.

ALL theſe Circumſtances began to make it look uncertain what would at length be determin'd by the States, as to their Ratifications, which were like to be delay'd till Spain had concluded their Treaty, though thoſe of France had been diſpatch'd ſo as to arrive at Nimeguen the twenty ſecond of this Month; and Monſieur D'AVAUX commanded from thence to the Hague, in quality of Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the States; and the French Army had retir'd into France at the ſame time the Dutch return'd from before Mons. So that all ſeem'd, on the French ſide, reſolv'd to purſue the Peace; on the ſide of the Empire, and Princes of the North, to carry on the War; on the Spaniards, very irreſolute, whether to accept the Peace the Dutch had mediated for them, or not: And in Holland, 'twas doubtful, whether to ratifie That their Ambaſſadors had ſign'd, and whether at leaſt before the Treaty of Spain ſhould be agreed.

WHILST the Minds of Men were buſied with different reaſonings and preſages, as well as wiſhes, upon this Conjuncture; About the end of Auguſt Mr. HIDE arriv'd at the *Hague* from *England*, without the leaſt intimation given me of his Journey, or his Errand; ſo that I was ſurpriz'd, both to ſee him, and to hear the deſign of ſuch a ſudden diſpatch.

THE Subſtance of it, was, to acquaint the States how much the King had been ſurpriz'd at the news of their Ambaſſadors having ſign'd a particular Treaty with *France*, even without the incluſion of *Spain*, and without any Guaranty given for the evacuation of the Towns within the time requiſite: To complain of this Precipitation of the States; and at the ſame time of the new Pretenſions that *France* had advanc'd upon the County of *Beaumont* and the Town of *Bovignes*, which had retarded the Peace of *Spain*, and hinder'd it from being concluded at the ſame time with that of *Holland*; which His Majeſty underſtood always to have been the Intention of the States, as well as His own. That for theſe Reaſons he underſtood, and believ'd, that the late Treaty of *July*, between His Majeſty and the States, ought to take effect; the caſe being fallen out againſt which that was provided, and both Parties being thereby oblig'd to enter jointly into the War againſt *France*. That if the States would hereupon refuſe to ratify the Treaty their Miniſters had ſign'd at *Nimeguen*, His Majeſty offer'd to declare War immediately againſt *France*, and carry it on in all points according to the Articles and Obligations of the ſaid Treaty with the States.

THO' Mr. HIDE did not know, or did not tell me the true ſpring of this reſolute pace that was made by our Court, ſo different from all the reſt in the whole courſe of this Affair; yet he aſſur'd me they were both in earneſt and very warm upon the ſcent, and deſir'd nothing ſo much as to enter immediately and vigorouſly into the War, in caſe *Holland* would be perſwaded to continue it; and that no time nor endeavours were to be neglected in purſuing the Commiſſion he brought over, which was given jointly to us both, and recommended to me particularly from Court with all the inſtances and earneſtneſs that could be. When I carried him that very Evening to the Prince at *Honſlaerdyck*, and he acquainted his Highneſs with the whole extent of his Errand and Inſtructions; the Prince receiv'd it very coldly, and only adviſ'd him to give in a Memorial to the States, and aſk Commiſſioners to treat, by whom he would find what the mind of the States was like to be upon this Affair, and at which he would at preſent make no conjecture.

AFTER a ſhort Audience, Mr. HIDE went to the Princeſs, and left me alone with the Prince; who as ſoon as he was gone, lift up his hands two or three times, and ſaid, Was ever any thing ſo hot and ſo cold as this Court of yours? Will the King, that is ſo often at Sea, never learn a Word that I ſhall never forget ſince my laſt paſſage? When in a great Storm the Captain was all Night crying out to the Man at the Helm, Steddy, Steddy, Steddy? If this Diſpatch had come twenty days ago, it had chang'd the Face of Affairs in *Chriſtendom*; and the War might have been carried on till *France* had yielded to the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, and left the World in quiet for the reſt of our lives. As it comes now, it will have no effect at all. At leaſt, this is my Opinion, tho' I would not ſay ſo to Mr. HIDE.

AFTER this, he ask'd me what I could imagine was at the bottom of this new heat in our Court; and what could make it break out ſo *mal à propos* (*Unſeaſonably*) after the diſſatisfaction they had expreſs'd upon the late Treaty when it was firſt ſent over, and the diſpatch of DU CROS ſo contrary to the deſign of it. I told him very truly, That I was perfectly ignorant of the whole matter, and could give no gueſs at the motions of it: And ſo I continu'd till ſome Months after, when I was adviſ'd, That the buſineſs of the Plot, which has ſince made ſo much noiſe in the World, was juſt then breaking out; and that the Court, to avoid the Conſequences that might have upon the ill humour of the Parliament, which ſeem'd to riſe chiefly from the Peace His Majeſty reſolv'd to give them the Satisfaction they had ſo long deſir'd, of entring into the War: Which is all the account I can give of this Counſel or Reſolution.

THE Event prov'd anſwerable to the Judgment the Prince at firſt made of it; for tho' the States Deputies drew the Matter into ſeveral Debates and Conferences with us, which fill'd all Parties concern'd in the War with different apprehenſions, and ſerv'd to facilitate the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*; yet the Penſioner told me from the firſt, this was all the uſe that could be made of it, and that the States were ſo unſatisfied with our whole Conduct in the buſineſs of the Peace, that tho they would be glad to ſee us in the War, yet they were reſolv'd to have no further part in it, unleſs *France* ſhould refuſe what they had already promis'd to *Spain*. However, while this Affair continued in agitation during Mr. Hide's ſtay at the *Hague*, all appearances look'd very different from the opinion of the Prince and Penſioner; who alone had ſo full a graſp of the buſineſs in *Holland*, as to make a true judgment what the general ſentiments there would determine in. Many of the Deputies were ſo ill ſatisfi'd with their Ambaſſadors having ſign'd the Peace, that they inclin'd to His Majeſty's Propoſals, and framed ſeveral Articles againſt Monſieur Van Beverning's Proceedings, whereof ſome lay'd miſtakes to his Charge; others, the omiſſion of matters abſolutely neceſſary in the Treaty; and others more directly, his having gone beyond his Orders and Inſtructions, particularly, in having ſtipulated that the States ſhould give their Guaranty for the Neutrality of *Spain*. And in this point, I doubt he had nothing to ſhew from his Maſters to cover him. The reſt ſeem'd rather to be raiſ'd invidiouſly at his Conduct; in having ſuddenly concluded an Affair, which they now ſaw might have had another iſſue if he had given it more breath; tho', at that time, many of his Accuſers expected as little from *England* as he did, and with reaſon alike, ſince none of them could imagine any thing of that new Spring there from which this violent motion had begun. Whatever Monſieur VAN BEVERNING's Orders or his Proceedings had been, the heats were ſo high againſt him at the *Hague*, that many talk'd, not only of diſavowing what he had done, but of forming Proceſs againſt him upon it. And tho' in a ſhort ſtay he made there upon this occaſion, he had the fortune or the juſtice to ſee his Enemies grow calm towards him; yet he was not a little mortified with ſo ill payment of what he thought had been ſo good Service to his Country; and after his return to *Nimeguen*, was obſerv'd to proceed in the Negotiations there, with more flegm and caution than was natural ial to his Temper; and leſs Show of partiality to the Peace, then he had made in the whole courſe of the Treaty.

ALL the while theſe matters were in motion at the *Hague*, the King's Forces were every day tranſporting into *Flanders*, as if the War were to be carried on with the greateſt certainty and vigour. Which gave opinion and heart to thoſe in *Holland* that diſlik'd the Peace: It raiſ'd alſo ſo great confidence in the *Spaniards*, that they fell into all the meaſures they could with the Confederate Miniſters at *Nimeguen*, to form difficulties and delays in the Treaty there, between that Crown and *France*; upon the ſecurity that *Holland* would not ratify theirs, till that of *Spain* were concluded; and that in the mean time they might be drawn into the War, by the violent diſpoſitions which now appear'd in *England*, as well as in the Confederates, to continue it. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors laid hold of all occaſions to except againſt the matter or ſtyle of thoſe Articles which *Holland* had mediated between them and *France*; they found difficulties upon the conditions wherein the ſeveral Towns to be evacuated ſhould be reſtor'd to them, as to the Fortifications that had been made in them by the *French*, and as to the Artillery and Munitions that were in them at the time when the *Dutch* had agreed upon thoſe Conditions; they found matter of diſpute upon ſqueez'd or forc'd Strains of Wit that are in ſome places ſo much in requeſt; tho' I think, commonly the Men that affect them, are themſelves much fonder of them than any of the Company.

DINING one day at Monſieur HOEFT's, and having a great Cold, I obſerv'd every time I ſpit, a tight handſom Wench (that ſtood in the Room with a clean Cloth in her Hand) was preſently down to wipe it up, and rub the Board clean: Somebody at Table ſpeaking of my Cold, I ſaid, the moſt trouble it gave me was to ſee the poor Wench take ſo much pains about it. Monſieur HOEFT told me, 'Twas well I eſcap'd ſo; and that if his Wife had been at home, tho' I were an Ambaſſador, ſhe would have turn'd me out of doors for fouling her Houſe. And laughing at that humour, ſaid, There were two Rooms of his Houſe that he never durſt come into, and believ'd they were never open but twice a year, to make them clean. I ſaid, I found he was a good Patriot; and not only in the Intereſts of his Country, but in the Cuſtoms of his Town, where that of the Wives governing was, I heard, a thing eſtabliſh'd. He replied, 'Twas true, and that all a Man could hope for there, was to have *une douce Patronne* [*An eaſie Governeſs*], and that his Wife was ſo. Another of the Magiſtrates at Table, who was a graver Man, ſaid Monſieur HOEFT was pleaſant, but the thing was no more ſo in their Town, than in any other Places that he knew of. HOEFT replied very briskly, It was ſo, and could not be otherwiſe, for it had long been the cuſtom; and whoever offer'd to break it, would have banded againſt him, not only all the Women of the Town, but all thoſe Men too that were govern'd by their Wives, which would make too great a Party to be oppos'd. In the afternoon, upon a viſit, and occaſion of what had been ſaid at Monſieur HOEFT's, many Stories were told of the ſtrange and curious Cleanlineſs ſo general in that City; and ſome ſo extravagant, that my Siſter took them for jeſt; when the Secretary of *Amſterdam*, that was of the Company, deſiring her to look out of the Window, ſaid, Why, Madam, there is the Houſe where one of our Magiſtrates going to viſit the Miſtreſs of it, and knocking at the Door, a ſtrapping *North-Holland* Laſs came and open'd it; he ask'd, Whether her Miſtreſs was at home? ſhe ſaid, Yes; and with that he offer'd to go in: But the Wench marking his Shooes were not very clean, took him by both Arms, threw him upon her back, carry'd him croſs two Rooms, ſet him down at the bottom of the Stairs, pull'd off his Shooes, put him on a pair of Slippers that ſtood there, and all this without ſaying a word; but when ſhe had done, told him, towards a Peace, that it had all the effect deſign'd by it. The ſeveral Towns and Provinces proceeded with a general Concurrence to the Ratifications of the Peace, that they might lie ready in their Ambaſſadors hands, to be exchang'd when that of *Spain* ſhould be ſign'd. Monſieur VAN BEVERNING, now favour'd with a fair Gale from home, the humour of his Country blowing the ſame way with his own diſpoſitions, and ſeconded with the great facilities that were given by *France*, made ſuch a quick diſpatch of what remain'd in conteſt upon the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*, that all was perfected and ſign'd by the Twentieth of *September*, and thereupon the *Dutch* Ratifications were exchang'd with the uſual forms. In all this Sir LIONEL JENKINS had no part, as in an Affair diſapprov'd by the King his Maſter. The *Dutch* Ambaſſadors play'd the part of formal Mediators; had the Treaty between the Two Crowns ſign'd at their Houſe; and took great care by the choice and diſpoſition of the Room where it was perform'd, to avoid all punctilioes about Place, that might ariſe between the ſeveral Ambaſſadors. Mr. HIDE had the mortification to return into *England*, with the entire diſappointment of the Deſign upon which he came, and believ'd the Court ſo paſſionately bent; I was left at the *Hague* without any thing more to do, than to perform the part of a common Ambaſſador; *France* was left in poſſeſſion of the Peace with *Holland* and *Spain*, and, by Conſequence, Maſter of that of the Empire and the North, upon their own Terms; and *England* was left to buſy it ſelf about a Fire that was breaking out at home, with ſo much Smoak, and ſo much Noiſe, that as it was hard to diſcover the Beginning, ſo it was much harder to foreſee the End of it.

AFTER the Peace of *Spain* ſign'd, and of *Holland* ratify'd, tho' the Ambaſſadors of the Emperour at *Nimeguen* were ſullen, and thoſe of *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* enrag'd, yet, by the Application of the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, the Conferences were ſet on foot between them and the *French*; and Sir LIONEL receiv'd Orders from Court to return to his Function, tho' the remaining Part he had in the Affair, was rather that of a Meſſenger than a Mediator. The Northern Princes continu'd their Preparations and Marches, as if they reſolv'd to purſue the War; but at the ſame Time gave Jealouſies to the Emperour of ſome private Intelligences or Negotiations of ſeparate Treaties ſet on foot between *France* and *Denmark*, and others between that Crown and *Brandenburg*, by Monſieur DESPENSE, an old Servant of the Elector, but Subject of *France*. On the other Side, *France* made great Preparations to attack the Empire, upon the Pretence of forcing them into the Terms they had preſcrib'd for the Peace; and thereby gave ſo great Terror to the Princes of the *Rhine* that lay firſt expos'd to the Fury of their Arms, that the Electors of MENTZ and TRIERS, and Duke of NEUBURG, ſent away in great Haſte to the States, demanding and deſiring to be included by them in the Peace they had made, by Virtue of an Article therein, which gave them Liberty within Six Weeks to declare and include ſuch as they ſhou'd name for their Allies. But this was oppos'd by *France*, and refus'd to any particular Prince of the Empire, and allow'd only to the Emperor and Empire, if they ſhou'd jointly deſire to be declar'd and included in the Peace as an Ally of *Holland*. The Duke of LORRAIN, about the ſame Time, ſeeing the whole Confederacy breaking into ſo many ſeveral Pieces, and every one minding only how to ſhift the beſt they cou'd for themſelves, accepted his Part of the Peace as *France* had carv'd it out for him; and choſe the Alternative offer'd from that Crown, by which *Nancy* was to remain to *France*. But the Emperor, tho' he profeſs'd all the Inclination that cou'd be to ſee the General Peace reſtor'd, yet he pretended not to ſuffer the Terms of it ſhou'd, like Laws, be impos'd upon him. He conſented to the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Treaties of *Weſtphalia*, which ſeem'd to be all that *France* inſiſted on;

but cou'd not agree to the Paſſage demanded for their Troops, whenever they found it neceſſary for the Execution of the ſaid Treaties; and this was inſiſted on poſitively by the *French*. Nor cou'd the Imperialiſts yield to the Dependance pretended by *France* of the Ten Towns of *Alſace* upon that Crown; which the *French* demanded as ſo left, or at leaſt intended, by the Treaty of *Munſter*; while the Emperor's Ambaſſadors denied either the Fact or the Intention of that Treaty.

WHILE theſe Diſpoſitions, and theſe Difficulties, delay'd the Treaty of the Emperor, the Ratifications of *Spain* were likewiſe deferr'd, by Concert, as was ſuppos'd, between the Two Houſes of AUSTRIA; ſo as the Term agreed for the Exchange of them was quite elaps'd, and twice renew'd or prolong'd by *France* at the Deſire of the States. But during this Time, the *French* Troops made Incurſions into the richeſt Parts of *Flanders*, and which had been beſt cover'd in the Time of the War; and there exacted ſo great Contributions, and made ſuch Ravages where they were diſputed, that the *Spaniſh Netherlands* were more ruin'd between the ſigning of the Peace and the Exchange of the Ratifications, than they had been in ſo much Time during the whole Courſe of the War.

THE Outcries and Calamities of their Subjects in *Flanders*, at length mov'd the *Spa-*

wards out of their ſlow Pace; but more, the Embroilments of *England* upon the Subject of the Plot, which took up the Minds both of Court and Parliament, and left them little or no Regard for the Courſe of foreign Affairs. This Proſpect made *Holland* the more eager upon urging the Peace to a General Iſſue; and *France* making a wiſe Uſe of ſo favourable a Conjuncture, preſs'd the Empire not only by the Threats and Preparations of a ſudden Invaſion, but alſo by confining their Offers of the Peace to certain Days, and raiſing much higher Demands, if thoſe ſhou'd expire before the Emperor's Acceptance.

ALL theſe Circumſtances, improv'd by the Diligence and Abilities of the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, at length determin'd the Houſe of AUSTRIA to run the Ship aſhore, whatever came on't, rather than keep out at Sea in ſo cruel a Storm as they ſaw falling upon them, and for which they found themſelves ſo unprovided. The *Spaniſh* Ratifications at length arriv'd: And after the Winter ſat ſpent in fruitleſs Conteſt by the Imperial Ambaſſadors, and more fruitleſs Hopes from *England* by the *Spaniards* and other Confederates, Sir LIONEL JENKINS gave Notice both to the Court and to me, that he look'd upon the Treaty between the Emperor and *France* to be as good as concluded; and ſoon after I receiv'd His

Majeſty's Commands to go immediately away from the *Hague* to *Nimeguen*, and there aſſiſt as a Mediator at the ſigning of the Peace, which then appear'd to be General.

I never obey'd the King ſo unwillingly in my Life; both upon Account of an Errand ſo unneceſſary, and, at beſt, ſo merely formal (which I never had been us'd to in ſo long a Courſe of Imployments); and likewiſe upon the Unclemency of the Seaſon, which was never known ſo great in any Man's Memory, as when I ſet out from the *Hague*. The Snow was in many Places where I paſs'd near Ten Foot deep, and Ways for my Coach forc'd to be digg'd through it; ſeveral Poſt-boys dy'd upon the Road; and it was ridiculous to ſee People walk about with long Icicles from their Noſes. I paſs'd both the *Rhine* and the *Waal*, with both Coaches and Waggons, upon the Ice; and never in my Life ſuffer'd ſo much from Weather as in this Journey, in ſpight of all Proviſions I cou'd make againſt it. The beſt of it was that I knew all the Way, It was neither at all material that the Mediators ſhou'd ſign this Branch of the General Peace, having ſign'd none of the other; nor that Two ſhou'd ſign it, when One alone had aſſiſted in the Courſe of this Negotiation ſince it was renew'd between the Empire and *France*. Beſides, I was very confident it wou'd not at laſt be ſign'd by either of us; for I cou'd not believe, when it came to the Point, the Emperor's Ambaſſadors ſhou'd yield that of Precedence to the Mediators, at the Concluſion of the Treaty, which they never conſented to do in the whole Courſe of it: So that I look'd upon the Favour of this Journey, as afforded me from the particular Good-will of ſome of my good Friends in the foreign Committee; taking a Riſe from ſome Inſtances of Sir LIONEL JENKINS, who was in one of his uſual Agonies, for fear of being left in the Way of ſigning alone a Treaty, which he neither was pleas'd with himſelf, nor believ'd many People in *England* like to be.

I arriv'd at *Nimeguen* the End of *January* 167$\frac{8}{9}$, and found all concluded, and ready to ſign, as Sir LIONEL believ'd; yet the Imperialiſts made a vigorous Effort in Two Conferences, after my Arrival, to gain ſome Eaſe in the Points of *Lorrain*, and the Dependance of the Ten Towns in *Alſace*, wherein they thought themſelves the moſt hardly uſ'd of any others, and in the Firſt, their Maſter's Honour and Juſtice moſt concern'd: ſo as Count KINKSKI made a Mien of abſolutely breaking, without ſome Relief upon them. But the *French* Ambaſſadors knew too well the Force of the Conjuncture, and the Neceſſity laid upon the Emperor by the *Dutch* and *Spaniſh* Peace, to paſs the ſame

Way, or leap out of the Window; and they were too ſkillful not to make Uſe of it, or to give any Ground to all the Inſtances or Threats of the *Imperialiſts*. Theſe on t'other Side, durſt not venture the Expiration of the laſt Day given them by *France*; nor the Reſerve made in that Caſe of exacting new and harder Terms. So as the Peace was Sign'd about Three Days after my Arrival. The poor Duke of *Lorrain* thought himſelf preſs'd with ſuch Hardſhips upon both the Alternatives, that he could not reſolve to accept of either; For in that he had choſen, not only his Dutchy was diſmember'd of ſeveral great Parts wholly cut off, but the reſt left at the *French* Diſcretion; who inſiſted upon great Spaces of Ground left them in Propriety, quite croſs his Country, for the March of their Armies, whenever they ſhould pretend occaſion: So this noble, but unfortunate Prince, was left wholly out of the Treaty, and of his Country; contrary to the direct and repeated Engagements of the Confederates, and the Intentions of His Majeſty, as he often declar'd in the whole Courſe of the Treaty.

WHEN it was ready to Sign, the *French* Ambaſſadors offer'd to yield the Precedence in Signing it to us as Mediators, which they had done very frankly in the whole Courſe of this Aſſembly; but the *Imperialiſts*, when it came to the Point, downright refus'd it; and we, according to our Primitive Orders, refus'd to Sign without it; and by our Offers, gain'd only the Point of having That determin'd againſt us, which till this time had always remain'd in Suſpence.

WHILST I ſtaid at *Nimeguen*, I had a Sheet of Paper ſent me from an unknown Hand, written in Latin, but in a Style and Character that diſcover'd it to be by ſome *German*; The Subject of it was a long Comment upon a Quatrain recited out of *Noſtredamus*.

Né ſous les ombres d'une journée nocturne
Sera en loz & bonté Souverain,
Fera renaiſtre le ſang de l'antique Urne
Et changera en Or le ſiecle d'Airain.

Under the Shades of a Nocturnal Day being born,
In Glory and Goodneſs Sovereign ſhall ſhine,
Shall cauſe to ſpring again the Blood o' th' Ancient Urn,
And into Gold the Brazen Age refine.

The Scope of the whole Diſcourſe was to prove the Prince of ORANGE's being by it deſign'd for the Crown of *England*, and how much Glory and Felicity ſhou'd attend that Age and Reign. I cou'd not but mention it, becauſe I thought the Interpretation ingeniouſly found out and apply'd, having otherwiſe very little Regard for any ſuch Kind of Predictions, that are ſo apt to amuſe the World. And tho' the preſent State of the Royal Family leave not this without Appearance of arriving at one Time or other; yet it is at too great a Diſtance for my Eyes, which, by the Courſe of Nature, muſt be clos'd long before ſuch an Event is like to ſucceed. The Author of this Paper made *The Shades of a Nocturnal Day*, to ſignify the deep Mourning of the Princeſs Royal's Chamber, with the Lamps hung about it, which, by the Windows being kept ſhut, left no other Light in it that Morning the Prince was born (which was ſoon after his Father's Death). *Reſtoring the Blood of the Ancient Urn*, was that of BOURBON or of CHARLEMAIGNE, from whom the Prince was ſaid to deſcend. The reſt was only Panegyrick upon his Virtues, and the general Praiſe ſhou'd attend them, and the golden Age he ſhou'd reſtore.

THE Day after the Treaty was ſign'd I left *Nimeguen*, and return'd to the *Hague*, after a cruel Fatigue and Expence; which was render'd the more agreeable, when, upon my going into *England* ſoon after, I found my ſelf in above Seven Thouſand Pounds in Arrear at the Treaſury: And though, with much Trouble and Delay, and ſome worſe Circumſtances (to engage Men that were more dextrous than I in ſuch Purſuits) I recover'd the reſt of my Debt; yet Two and Twenty Hundred Pounds, due to me for this laſt Ambaſſy, continues to this Day a deſperate Debt, and Mark upon me how unfit I am for a Court; and Mr. GODOLPHIN, after having both ſaid and writ to me, that he wou'd move to have my Statue ſet up if I compaſs'd that Treaty, has ſat ſeveral Years ſince in the Treaſury, and ſeen me want the very Money I laid out of my own Purſe in that Service, and which I am like to leave a Debt upon my Eſtate and Family.

I ſhall not trouble my ſelf with obſerving the remaining Paces of the General Peace, by that of the North, which was left to be made at the Mercy of *France*. And though *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* look'd big, and ſpoke high for a Time after the Peace between the Empire and *France*, pretending they wou'd defend what they had conquer'd from the *Swedes* in *Germany*; yet upon the March of the *French* Troops into the *Brandenburg* Country, both thoſe Princes made what Haſte they cou'd to finiſh their Separate Treaties with *France*; and upon certain Sums of Money agreed on, deliver'd up all they had gain'd in this War to the Crown of *Sweden*. Thus Chriſtendom was left for the preſent in a General Peace, and *France* to purſue what they cou'd gain upon their Neighbours by their Pretenſions of Dependences,

dences, and by the *Droit de Bienſeance* [*The Right of Conveniency*]; which they purſu'd with ſuch imperious Methods, both againſt the Empire and the *Spaniards*, as render'd their Acquiſitions after the Peace greater, at leaſt in Conſequence, than what they had gain'd by the War: Since not only great Tracts of Country, upon the Score of Dependences, but *Strasburg* and *Luxemburg* fell as Sacrifices to their Ambition, without any neighbouring Prince or State concerning themſelves in their Relief. But theſe Enterpriſes I leave to ſome other's Obſervations.

VERY ſoon after my Arrival at the *Hague*, the King ſent me Orders to provide for my Return as ſoon as I cou'd poſſibly be ready; and bid me acquaint the Prince and the States, That he had ſent for me over to come into the Place of the Firſt Secretary of State in Mr. COVENTRY'S Room. My Lord Treaſurer writ to me to the ſame Purpoſe, and with more Eſteem than I cou'd pretend to deſerve, telling me, among other Things, They were fallen into a cruel Diſeaſe, and had need of ſo able a Phyſician. This put me in Mind of a Story of Doctor PRUJEAN (the Greateſt of that Profeſſion in our Time), and which I told my Friends that were with me when theſe Letters came. A certain Lady came to the Doctor in great Trouble about her Daughter. *Why, what ails ſhe?* Alas, Doctor, I cannot tell; but ſhe has loſt her Humour, her

Looks, her Stomach; her Strength conſumes every Day, ſo as we fear ſhe cannot live. *Why do not you marry her?* Alas, Doctor, That we wou'd fain do, and have offer'd her as good a Match as ſhe cou'd ever expect, but ſhe will not hear of marrying. *Is there no other, do you think, that ſhe would be content to Marry?* Ah, Doctor! that is it that trouble us; for there is a young Gentleman we doubt ſhe loves, that her Father and I can never conſent to. *Why, look you, Madam*, replies the Doctor gravely (being among all his Books in his Cloſet), *then the caſe is this. Your Daughter would Marry one Man, and you would have her Marry another: In all my Books I find no Remedy for ſuch a Diſeaſe as this.* I confeſs, I eſteem'd the Caſe as deſperate in a Political as in a Natural Body, and as little to be attempted by a Man who neither ever had his own Fortune at Heart (which ſuch Conjunctures are only proper for), nor ever could reſolve, upon any purſuits of it, to go againſt either the true Intereſt or the Laws of his Country; One of which is commonly endanger'd upon the fatal misfortune of ſuch Diviſions in a Kingdom: I choſe therefore to make my excuſes both to the King and to my Lord Treaſurer, and deſir'd leave to go to *Florence*, and diſcharge my ſelf of a promiſe I had made ſome years paſt of a Viſit to the Great Duke the firſt time I had leiſure from my Publick Imployments. Inſtead of granting this Suit, the King ſent a Yacht for me towards the end of *February*, 167$\frac{8}{9}$. with Orders to come immediately away to enter upon the Secretary's Office about the ſame time with my Lord SUNDERLAND, who was brought into Sir JOSEPH WILLIAMSON's Place. I obey'd His Majeſty, and acquainted the Prince and States with my Journey, and the deſign of it, according to his Command; who made me Compliments upon both, and would have had me believe, that the Secretary of State was to make amends for the loſs of the Ambaſſador. But I told the Prince, that tho' I muſt go, yet if I found the Scene what it appear'd to us at that diſtance, I would not charge my ſelf with that Imployment upon any terms that could be offer'd me. We knew very well in *Holland*, That both Houſes of Parliament believ'd the Plot: That the Clergy, the City, the Country in general did ſo too, or at leaſt purſu'd it as if they all believ'd it. We knew the King and that ſome of the Court believ'd nothing of it, and yet thought not fit to own that Opinion: And the Prince told me, He had reaſon to be confident, that the King was in his heart a *Roman Catholick*, tho he durſt not profeſs it. For my own part, I knew not what to believe on one ſide or t'other; but thought it eaſie to preſage, from ſuch contrary Winds and Tides, ſuch a Storm muſt riſe, as would tear the Ship in pieces, whatever Hand were at the Helm.

AT my arrival in *England*, about the latter end of *February*, I found the King had Diſſolv'd a Parliament that had ſat eighteen years, and given great teſtimonies of Loyalty and compliance with His Majeſty, till they broke firſt into Heats upon the *French* Alliances, and at laſt into Flames upon the buſineſs of the Plot: I found a new Parliament was call'd; and that to make way for a calmer Seſſion, the reſolution had been taken at Court for the Duke's going over into *Holland*; who embarqu'd the day after my arrival at *London*. The Elections of the enſuing Parliament were ſo eagerly purſu'd, that all were in a manner engag'd before I came over; and by the diſpoſitions that appear'd in both Electors and Elected, it was eaſie to preſage in what temper the Houſes were like to meet: My Lord SHAFTSBURY, my Lord ESSEX, and my Lord HALLIFAX, had ſtruck up with the Duke of MONMOUTH, reſolving to make uſe of His Credit with the King, and to ſupport it by Theirs in the Parliament: And tho the firſt had been as deep as any in the Counſels of the Cabal while he was Chancellor, yet all Three had now fall'n in with the common Humour againſt the Court and the Miniſtry, endeavouring to inflame the Diſcontents againſt both; and agreed among themſelves, That none of them would come into Court, unleſs they did it all together; which was obſerv'd like other common ſtrains of Court-Friendſhips. Sir WILLIAM COVENTRY had the moſt Credit of any Man in the Houſe of Commons, and I think the moſt deſervedly, not only for his great Abilities, but for having been turn'd out of the Council and the Treaſury, to make way for my Lord CLIFFORD's Greatneſs, and the Deſigns of the Cabal. He had been ever ſince oppoſite to the *French* Alliances, and bent upon engaging *England* in a War with that Crown, and aſſiſtance of the Confederates; and was now extremely diſſatisfied with the concluſion of the Peace, and with the Miniſtry, that he though either aſſiſted, or at leaſt might have prevented it; and in theſe diſpoſitions he was like to be follow'd by the beſt and ſobereſt part of the Houſe of Commons. For my Lord Treaſurer and Lord Chamberlain, I found them two moſt admirable Emblems of the true, and ſo much admir'd Felicity of Miniſters of State: The laſt, notwithſtanding the greateſt Skill of Court, and the beſt Turns of Wit in particular Converſation that I have known there, and the great Figure he made in the Firſt Part of theſe Memoirs, was now grown out of all Credit and Confidence with the King, the Duke, and Prince of ORANGE, and thereby forc'd to ſupport himſelf by Intrigues with the Perſons moſt diſcontented againſt my Lord Treaſurer's Miniſtry, whoſe Greatneſs he ſo much envy'd: And who was yet at this time in much worſe condition than himſelf, tho not ſo ſenſible of it; for he had been very ill with the late Parliament upon account of Tranſaction with *France*, which tho He had not approv'd, yet He durſt not defend Himſelf from the imputation, for fear of expoſing his Maſter; He was hated by the *French* Ambaſſador, for endeavouring (as he thought) to engage the King in a War with *France*; He was in danger of being purſued by his Enemies next Parliament, for having (as they pretended) made the Peace, and endeavour'd to ſtifle the Plot: And yet I found within a Fortnight after I arriv'd, that he ſat very looſe with the King his Maſter, who told me ſeveral reaſons of that change; whereof one was, his having brought the buſineſs of the Plot into the Parliament againſt his abſolute Command; And to compleat the happy and envied ſtate of this Chief Miniſter, the Dutcheſs of PORTSMOUTH and Earl of SUNDERLAND were joyn'd with the Duke of MONMOUTH and Earl of SHAFTSBURY in the deſign of his ruine. What a Game ſo embroyl'd, and play'd on all ſides with ſo much heat and paſſion, was like to end in, no Man could tell; But I, that never had any thing ſo much at heart as the Union of my Country, which I thought the only way to its greatneſs and felicity, was very unwilling to have any part in the Diviſions of it; the deplorable effects whereof I had been too much acquainted with, in the Stories of *Athens* and *Rome*, as well as of *England* and *France*: And for this reaſon, tho I was very much preſs'd to enter upon the Secretary's Office immediately after my arrival; yet I delay'd it, by repreſenting to His Majeſty how neceſſary it was for him to have one of the Secretaries in the Houſe of Commons, (where it had been uſual to have them both) and that conſequently it was very unfit for me to enter upon that Office before I got into the Houſe, which was attempted, and fail'd: But how long this excuſe laſted, and how it was ſucceeded by many new and various accidents, and how I was prevail'd with by the King to have the Part I had afterwards in a new Conſtitution of Council; and how after almoſt two years unſucceſsful endeavours at ſome Union, or at leaſt ſome allays of the heats and diſtempers between the King and His Parliaments, I took the reſolution of having no more to do with Affairs of State; will be the Subject of a Third Part of theſe Memoirs.

The End.

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